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THE  
POETICAL WORKS

JOHN MILTON.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

CONTAINING

THE FIRST SIX BOOKS OF PARADISE LOST.

LONDON:

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### PARADISE LOST,

The first six Books, with Milton's Apology for the Verse.





THE VERSE. <sup>1</sup>

THE measure is English heroick verse without rhyme, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin: rhyme being no necessary adjunct, or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre; graced indeed since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse than else they would have expressed them. Not without cause, therefore, some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note <sup>2</sup> have rejected rhyme both

<sup>1</sup> *The Verse.*] The first edition of *Paradise Lost*, in 1667, was without this preface, or apology for the verse. In 1668, when a new title-page was prefixed to the edition, it was added with the following address of the Printer to the reader: "Courteous Reader, there was no *Argument* at first intended to the Book; but, for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, I have procured it, and withal a reason of that which stumbled many others, *why the Poem rimes not.*"

— *both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note*] Among the *Italians*, Trissino and Rucellai have abandoned the use of rhyme: the former, in his *Italia Liberata di Goti*, an heroick poem; the



in longer and shorter works : as have also long since our best English tragedies <sup>3</sup> : as a thing of

latter, in a didactick poem, entitled *Le Api*, which will remain "a lasting monument that the Italian language requires not the shackles of rhyme to render it harmonious." Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 152. Luigi Alamanni's imitation of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, which appeared in 1532, and his didactick poem of *Cultivazione*, printed at Paris in 1546, are both in blank verse. The rejection of rhyme in Italian poetry was also powerfully urged, in the sixteenth century, by Felice Figliinei, who, "in his admirable Italian commentary on the *Ethicks* of Aristotle, enforces his advice by his own example, and translates all Aristotle's quotations from Homer and Euripides into verse without rhyme." *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 24. The *Georgicks* of Virgil are also thus translated. "La Georgica di Vergilio con sciolti versi tradutta in lingua Toscana dal magnifico M. Antonio Mario Negrifoli, nobile Ferrarese. Vinegia, 1552."—Of the Origin of *Versi Sciolti* among the Italians, see Walker's *Historical Memoir of Italian Tragedy*, 1799. Append. p. xx.

Among the *Spanish* poets, Mr. Bowle mentions Francisco de Aldana, who translated the *Epistles* of Ovid into Spanish blank verse; and Gonfalo Perez, who, in like manner, translated the *Odyssey* of Homer. And he adds, that Garcilasso de la Vega, Principe de los Poetas Castellanos, in the *Epistola a Boscan*, folios 49, 50, 51, ed. Madrid, 1622, has given a specimen of blank verse. It should be added, that Boscan has given similar specimens in his poetry, and that there is also extant, in Spanish blank verse, a poem, entitled *La Suma de Philosophia*, by Alonso de Fuentes of Seville, published there in 1547. There are also *Dutch* and *French* poets, who have broken the bondage of rhyme. See Fabricius, Bib. Lat. lib. ii. c. 10. p. 383.

<sup>3</sup> — our best English tragedies:] Milton means the tragedies of Shakspeare, which he commends in *Il Penseroso* as having "ennobled the buskin'd stage." The first composition in blank verse, extant in our language, is said to be Lord Surrey's translation of the second and fourth books of Virgil, in 1557; the dic-

itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight; which consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another; not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoided by the learned Ancients, both in poetry and all good oratory <sup>4</sup>. This neglect then of rhyme so little is to be taken for a defect <sup>5</sup>, though

tion and the verification of which are highly commended by Mr. Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> — both in poetry and all good oratory.] Mr. Bowle observes, that Marston, in the *Scourge of Villanie*, a collection of Satires, first printed at London in 1598, after the *Proëmium in librum secundum*, has some verses *ad ritumum*, from which the following may properly be here cited:

————— “ Alas! poor idle sound:  
“ Since first I Phœbus knew, I never found  
“ Thy interest in sacred poesie.  
“ Thou to invention addst but surquedry,  
“ A gaudie ornature; but hast no part  
“ In that soule-pleasing high-infused art.”

<sup>5</sup> — so little is to be taken for a defect,] As Roger Ascham says in his *Scholemaster*, written about the year 1566, where he is praising the good judgement of Lord Surrey in avoyding the fault of ryming: “ And therefore, even as Virgill and Horace deserve most worthie prayse, that they, spying the unperfittnes in Ennius and Plautus, by trewe imitation of Homer and Euripides, brought poetrie to the same perfectnes in Latin as it was in Greeke, even so those, that by the same way would benefit their tong and country, deserve rather thanks than dispraise.” See *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 25.

Milton has been amply vindicated in his rejection of rhyme, not only by the remarks of Roscommon, Addison, and other eminent criticks, but also by the attention and the success with which,

it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, that it is rather to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered, to heroick poem, from the troublesome and modern bondage of rhyming.

in later times, his unfettered and noble verification has been studied :

“ Hither, as to their fountain, other stars  
“ Repairing, in their golden urns draw light.”

On this subject I subjoin the remarks of an elegant poet, and most accomplished scholar ; as just as they are beautiful. See “ A Poetical Epistle to Christopher Anstey Esq<sup>r</sup>. on the English Poets, chiefly those who have written in blank verse,” 1772.

“ Poet of other times, to thee I bow  
“ With lowliest reverence. Oft thou tak’st my soul,  
“ And waft’st it by thy potent harmony  
“ To that empyreal mansion, where thine ear  
“ Caught the soft warblings of a Seraph’s harp,  
“ What time the nightly visitant unlock’d  
“ The gates of Heaven, and to the mental sight  
“ Display’d celestial scenes. She from thy lyre  
“ With indignation tore the tinkling bells,  
“ And tun’d it to sublimest argument.  
“ Sooner the bird, that ushering in the spring  
“ Strikes the same notes with one unvarying pause,  
“ Shall vie with Philomel, when she pursues  
“ Her evening song through every winding maze  
“ Of melody, than rhyme shall soothe the soul  
“ With musick sweet as thine !”—

THE  
FIRST BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE LOST.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*The first Book proposes, first in brief, the whole subject, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was placed: Then touches the prime cause of his Fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the serpent; who, revolting from God, and drawing to his side many legions of Angels, was, by the command of God, driven out of Heaven, with all his crew, into the great deep. Which action passed over, the Poem hastens into the midst of things, presenting Satan with his Angels now falling into Hell described here, not in the center (for Heaven and Earth may be supposed as yet not made, certainly not yet accursed,) but in a place of utter darkness, filtiest called Chaos: Here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunder-struck and astonished, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion, calls up him who next in order and dignity lay by him: They confer of their miserable fall; Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then in the same manner confounded. They rise; their numbers; array of battle; their chief leaders named, according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his speech, comforts them with hope yet of regaining Heaven, but tells them lastly of a new world and new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient prophecy or report in Heaven; for, that Angels were long before this visible creation, was the opinion of many ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this prophecy, and what to determine thereon, he refers to a full council. What his associates thence attempt: Pandemonium, the palace of Satan, rises, suddenly built out of the deep: The infernal peers there sit in council.*

# PARADISE LOST.

## BOOK I.

OF Man's first disobedience, and the fruit  
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste

Ver. 1. *Of Man's first disobedience,*] The poet here lays before the reader the subject of the following work—the disobedience of our ancestors to the command of God—the effects of that disobedience which lost them Paradise; and the hope we are allowed to entertain through the Divine Goodness, of being restored to the like blissful state.—Such are the great events our poet proposes to celebrate—the means, by which they are brought about, are to be unfolded by degrees, whilst here he offers, to the reader's imagination, only such ideas as are most capable to inspire him with reverence and attention. The Poem begins with the origin of evil in our world, and the disobedience of our ancestors to God, the cause of all our woe. We find Homer too, the father of Epick poetry, beginning his *Iliad* from the anger of Achilles, the source of all the Grecian misfortunes.

It would have been ridiculous, as Horace justly observes, had Homer begun his poem with an account of Leda's offspring; and it would have been absurd too in Milton, to have taken his exordium from the revolt of Satan and his Angels in Heaven; though hence the cause of that malice and enmity, which prompted the apostate Spirit to endeavour the ruin of mankind. As we were not, however, to be left ignorant of this great event, the poet has taken care to give us some hints of it in the beginning of this book, reserving the particular detail for that beautiful episode in the sixth; as his master Homer has done the principal events, that either went before the commencement of the quarrel between the

Brought death into the world, and all our woe,  
 With loss of Eden; till one greater Man  
 Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,  
 Sing, heavenly Muse, that on the secret top

Phrygians and Grecians, or fell out during the first nine years of the war: the Iliad itself containing an account only of the transactions of a small part of the tenth year.

Virgil has observed the same conduct. He gives us the history of the taking of Troy, and what befel his hero, in an episode, which forms the second and third books of his poem; and in them are comprehended all the adventures of Æneas, till the time the poem takes him up near the coast of Italy, and consequently towards the end of his travels.

Our poet here follows this plan. He opens his work representing Satan as already in Hell, and there contriving the scheme of Man's destruction, which he begins immediately to put in execution; neither are we told the particulars of his coming there for a great while after: so that we may justly apply to our author what Quintilian says of Homer on a like occasion, "in paucissimis versibus operis ingressu, legem præmiorum servavit." *Paradise Lost, Book the first, with Notes, Printed at Glasgow, in 1750.*

Ver. 4. *With loss of Eden,*] But Eden was not lost; and the last that we read of our first parents is that they were still in Eden,

"Through Eden took their solitary way."

*With loss of Eden* therefore means no more than *with loss of Paradise*, which was planted in Eden; the whole being put for a part, as sometimes a part is put for the whole, by the figure *synecdoche*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 6. ——— on the secret top

*Of Oreb, or of Sinai,*] Dr. Bentley reads "the sacred top." But his supposed emendation is entirely overthrown by Dr. Pearce's masterly exposition of the genuine reading. "Sinai and Horeb are the same mountain, with two several eminences, the higher of them called Sinai; of which Josephus, in his

Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire  
 That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed,  
 In the beginning, how the Heavens and Earth  
 Rose out of Chaos : Or, if Sion hill 10  
 Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd  
 Fast by the oracle of God ; I thence  
 Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song,  
 That with no middle flight intends to soar

Jewish antiquities, says, that it is so high, that the top of it cannot be seen without straining the eyes. In this sense therefore, though I believe it is not Milton's sense, the top of it may be well said to be *secret*. The words, *of Horeb, or of Sinai*, imply a doubt of the poet, which name was properest to be given to that mountain, on the top of which Moses received inspiration ; because Horeb and Sinai are used for one another in Scripture : but, by naming Sinai last, he seems to incline rather to that. Now it is well known from *Exodus* xix. 16, and other places of Scripture, that when God gave his laws to Moses on the top of Sinai, it was covered with clouds, dark clouds and thick smoke ; it was therefore *secret* at that time in a peculiar sense : And the same thing seems intended by the epithet which Milton uses upon the very same occasion, B. xii. 227, *Sinai, whose GRAY top shall tremble.*"

Dr. Newton observes, that Milton might have a further meaning in the use of the epithet *secret*, employing it in the same sense as the Latin *secretus*, *set apart*, or *separate*, like Virgil's "*secretosque pios*," *Æn.* viii. 670. For, while Moses talked with God on the mount in private, the people were forbidden to approach, and, even afterwards, to ascend it, upon pain of death.

Ver. 8. *That shepherd,*] For Moses "*kept the flock* of Jethro his father in law," *Exod.* iii. 1. NEWTON.

Ver. 11. ———— *and Siloa's brook*] Siloa was a small river that flowed near the temple of Jerusalem. It is mentioned, *Isaiah* viii. 6. So that, in effect, Milton invokes the heavenly Muse, that inspired David and the Prophets on mount Sion, and at Jerusalem ; as well as Moses on mount Sinai. NEWTON.



Above the Aonian mount, while it pursues 15  
Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.

Ver. 15. ————— while it pursues

*Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.*] So he says, that the fable of his *Comus* was new, and “yet unheard in tale or song.” Mr. Bowle remarks, that it is frequent among the poets to speak of the novelty of their subjects; of which custom Lucretius, Horace, Virgil, Spenser, and Cowley, afford examples. He adds the very phrase, which Milton uses, from Boiardo, *Orl. Innam.* Lib. ii. c. xxx. st. 1.

—— “Avien, che ne in prosa è detta, e in rima

“Cosa che non sia stata detta prima.”

And Dr. Pearce notes the same expression in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. i. st. 2.

Ver. 16. ————— in prose or rhyme.] Milton

appears to have meant a different thing by *rhyme* here, from *rime* in his preface, where it is six times mentioned, and always spelt without an *b*; whereas in all the editions, till Dr. Bentley's appeared, *rhyme* in this place of the poem was spelt with an *b*. Milton probably meant a difference in the thing, by making so constant a difference in the spelling; and intended that we should here understand by *rhyme*, not the jingling sound of like endings, but *verse in general*; the word being derived from *rythmus*, *ῥυθμός*: Thus Spenser uses the word *rhyme* for *verse*, in his “Verses to Lord Buckhurst,” placed before his *Faery Queen*; and in Book i. Cant. vi. st. 13, of that poem. And so our poet uses the word in his verses upon *Lycidas*,

————— “he knew

“Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.” PEARCE.

The “lofty rhyme,” in *Lycidas*, is the “lofty verse.” And this is unquestionably the sense of the word *rhyme*, in this place of *Paradise Lost*. I cannot, however, admit bishop Pearce's reasoning: at least in the passage of *Lycidas* we have no such nicety of spelling, but *rhyme* appears in the editions of 1638, 1645, and 1673. Nor are the bishop's proofs of the true meaning of the word at all to the point. He rather might have alledged the following instance from Spenser's *October*:

And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer  
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,

"Thou kenst not, Percy, how the *rime* should rage;  
"O, if my temples were distain'd with wine,  
"And girt in girlonds of wilde iuie twine,  
"How should I reare the Muse on stately stage, &c."

That is, "my poetry should then mount to the highest elevations of the tragick and epick muse." But Fletcher more literally, in an Ode to Beaumont, on his imitations of Ovid, st. ii.

"The wanton Ovid whose enticing *rimes*."

It is wonderful that Bentley, with all his Grecian predilections, and his critical knowledge of the precise original meaning of *ῥυμὸς*, should have wished to substitute, in Milton, *sang* for *rhyme*. Grey, who studied and copied Milton with true penetration and taste, in his *Musick-Ode*, uses *rhyme* in Milton's sense:

"Meek Newton's self bends from his state sublime,  
"And nods his hoary head, and listens to the *rhyme*."

WARTON.

I may add that Milton's formulary occurs in our old poetry. Thus, in Skelton's *Boke of Philip Sparow*, Workes, edit. 1736, p. 241.

—————"to wryte  
"And spende my time  
"In *prose and rime*."

Again, in Verses prefixed to Gaywood's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654.

"Therefore, my friend, whether in *prose or rime*,  
"What thou hast writ is satyr to the time."

*Rhyme*, in the same sense, was also spelt both ways in Milton's time. I will give an instance from P. Fletcher's *Poetic. Miscell.* 1633. "And rais'd my *rime* to sing &c." p. 3. "Some wanton *rhyme*," p. 82.

Ver. 17. *And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, &c.*] Invoking the Muse is commonly a matter of mere form, wherein the poets neither mean, nor desire, to be thought to mean any thing seriously. But the Holy Ghost, here invoked, is too solemn a name to be used

Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first

insignificantly : and, besides, our author, in the beginning of his next work *Paradise Regained*, scruples not to say to the same Divine Person

“ Inspire,  
“ As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute.”

This address therefore is no mere formality. Yet some may think that he incurs a worse charge of enthusiasm, or even profaneness, in vouching inspiration for his performance : but the Scriptures represent inspiration as of a much larger extent than is commonly apprehended, teaching that “ *every good gift*,” in naturals as well as in morals, “ *descendeth from the great Father of lights* ;” Jam. i. 17. And an extraordinary skill even in mechanical arts is there ascribed to the illumination of the Holy Ghost. It is said of Bezaleel, who was to make the furniture of the tabernacle, that “ *the Lord had filled him with the Spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, and to devise curious works*,” &c. Exod. xxxv. 31. HEYLIN.

It may be observed too in justification of our author, that other sacred poems are not without the like invocations, and particularly Spenser's *Hymns* of Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty, as well as some modern Latin poems. But I conceive that Milton intended something more, for I have been informed by those, who had opportunities of conversing with his widow, that she was wont to say that he did really look upon himself as inspired, and I think his works are not without a spirit of enthusiasm. In the beginning of his second book of *The Reason of Church Government*, speaking of his design of writing a poem in the English language, he says, “ It was not to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases.” p. 61, Edit. 1738. NEWTON.

Ver. 19. *Instruct me, for Thou know'st* ; Theocr. i. 141.  
xxii. 116.

Εἰπὶ οὐδ' οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα. NEWTON.

Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread;  
 Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss;  
 And mad'st it pregnant: What in me is dark,  
 Illumine; what is low, raise and support;  
 That to the highth of this great argument,  
 I may assert Eternal Providence,  
 And justify the ways of God to Men.

Ver. 21. Dove-like *sat'st* brooding.] Alluding to *Gen. i. 2.* "The Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters." For the word, that we translate *moved*, signifies properly *brooded*, as a bird doth upon her eggs; and Milton says like a *dove* rather than any other bird, because the descent of the Holy Ghost is compared to a dove, *Luke iii. 22.* As Milton studied the Scriptures in the original languages, his images and expressions are oftener copied from them, than from our translations. NEWTON.

Perhaps Milton says "*dove-like*," knowing that the Talmudists had thus critically illustrated the original word, *brooded*: "QUE-  
 MADMODUM COLUMBA *incumbit pullis suis*, neque eos attingit ant  
 lædit alis suis." Vid. Hottinger. *Thef. Phil.* p. 275; and p.  
 350.

Ver. 22. ————— *What in me is dark,*  
*Illumine;*] He calls the Holy Ghost "the illuminating  
 Spirit," in his *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 273. edit. 1698. Com-  
 pare Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. viii. ft. 76.

"Illumine their dark soules with light divine."

Ver. 26. *And justify the ways of God to Men.*] Pope has  
 thought fit to borrow this verse, with some little variation, *Essay*  
*on Man*, Ep. i. 116.

"But vindicate the ways of God to Man."

It is not easy to conceive any good reason for Pope's preferring  
*vindicate*; but Milton uses *justify*, as it is the Scripture word,  
 "That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings," *Rom. iii. 4.*  
 And "the ways of God to Men" are justified in the many argu-

*Say first, for Heaven hides nothing from thy  
view,*

Nor the deep tract of Hell ; say first, what cause  
Mov'd our grand parents, in that happy state,  
Favour'd of Heaven so highly, to fall off 30  
From their Creator, and transgress his will  
For one restraint, lords of the world besides ?  
Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt ?  
The infernal Serpent ; he it was, whose guile,  
Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd 35  
The mother of mankind, what time his pride  
Had cast him out from Heaven, with all his host

mentative discourses throughout the Poem, particularly in the conferences between God the Father and the Son. NEWTON.

Ver. 27. *Say first, for Heaven hides nothing from thy view,  
Nor the deep tract of Hell ;*] The poets attribute a kind of omniscience to the Muse, and very rightly, as it enables them to speak of things, which could not otherwise be supposed to come to their knowledge. Thus Homer, *Il. ii.* 485.

Ἵμῶς γὰρ θεαί εἰσι, πάνταί τε, ἔσι τὸ πάντα.

And Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 645.

“ Et meministis enim, Divæ, et memorare potestis.”

Milton's Muse being the *Holy Spirit*, must of course be omniscient. And the mention of *Heaven* and *Hell* is very proper in this place, as the scene of so great a part of the Poem is laid sometimes in Hell, and sometimes in Heaven. NEWTON.

Ver. 33. *Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt ?  
The infernal Serpent ;*] An imitation of Homer, *Iliad* i. 8.

Τίς τ' ἄρ' ὅπως δῖος ἱπιδὲ ζεύκευ μείχεσθαι ;  
Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνδρ' ὅτις. HUME.

Of rebel Angels ; by whose aid, aspiring  
 To set himself in glory above his peers,  
 He trusted to have equall'd the Most High,  
 If he oppos'd ; and, with ambitious aim  
 Against the throne and monarchy of God,  
 Rais'd impious war in Heaven, and battle proud,  
 With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power  
 Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,  
 With hideous ruin and combustion, down  
 To bottomless perdition ; there to dwell  
 In adamantinè chains and penal fire,

Ver. 38. ————— by whose aid, aspiring

*To set himself in glory above his peers,*] Here Dr. Bentley objects, that Satan's crime was not his aiming *above his peers* : he was *in place high above them* before, as the doctor proves from B. v. 812. But, though this be true, Milton may be right here ; for the force of the words seems, not that Satan *aspired to set himself above his peers*, but that he *aspired to set himself in glory*, that is, in divine glory, in such glory as God and his Son were set in. Here was his crime ; and this is what God charges him with, in B. v. 725.

—— “ who intends to erect his throne

“ Equal to ours,”—

and, in B. vi. 88, Milton says, that the rebel Angels hoped

“ To win the mount of God, and on his throne

“ To set the envier of his state, the proud

“ Aspirer.”

See also, to the same purpose, B. vii. 140, &c. PEARCE.

Ver. 45. *Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,*] Homer, *Iliad* i. 591.

Ῥίψι, ποδὶς τεταγμέν, ἀπὸ βυλῶ διαπισσίωσι. NEWTON.

Ver. 48. *In adamantinè chains*] This phrase has been cited from Æschylus by Dr. Newton. It occurs also in Ariosto, and

Who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms.  
 Nine times the space that measures day and night so  
 To mortal men, he with his horrid crew  
 Lay vanquish'd, rolling in the fiery gulf,  
 Confounded, though immortal: But his doom  
 Reserv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought  
 Both of lost happiness, and lasting pain, 55

in Fulvio Testi. But it was a common phrase in English. Thus, in Spenser's *Hymn* "In honour of Love."

"Together linkt with *adamantine chaines*."

And in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, 1633, c. xii. st. 64, of the old Dragon:

"So now he's bound in *adamantine chain*;

"He storms, he roars, he yells 'or *high disdain*."

So, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song 1, "bound with *adamantine chaines*." And Drummônd, in his *Flowers of Sion*, has "Death's *adamantine chain*." Hence Pope, in his *Messiah*, employs the expression;

"In *adamantine chains* shall Death be bound."

Gray has finely adapted it in his hymn to *Adversity*,

"Bound in *THEY adamantine chain*."

Milton also uses this phrase in his *Latin Prologues*, 1674, p. 71, and in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, B. i. ch. 13.

Ver. 54. ————— *now the thought*

*Both of lost happiness, &c.*] Milton here had in view, as Mr. Bowle also observes, the Devil's speech in Marino's *Strage de gli Innocenti*, 1633. l. i. st. 31.

"Lasso, ma che mi val fuor disperanza

"A lo stato primier volger la mente,

"Se con l'amara, e misera membranza

"Raddoppia i ben'passato il mal presente?"

Torments him: round he throws his baleful eyes,  
 That witness'd huge affliction and dismay  
 Mix'd with obdurate pride and stedfast hate:  
 At once, as far as Angels ken, he views  
 The dismal situation waste and wild; 60  
 A dungeon horrible on all sides round,  
 As one great furnace flam'd; yet from those flames  
 No light; but rather darkness visible

Ver. 56. ——— round he throws his baleful eyes,  
 That witness'd huge affliction and dismay  
 Mix'd with obdurate pride and stedfast hate.] Thus  
 P. Fletcher, in his *Locusts*, 4°. 1627, of Satan;

————— "his fiery eye,  
 "Much swolne with *pride*, but more with rage and *hate*,  
 "As censour, muster'd all his company."

Mr. Bowle refers to Tasso, *Gier. Conqu.* L. iv. st. 11.

"Alza gli occhi dolenti, e'ntorno gira."

Ver. 63. ——— darkness visible] Milton seems to have used these words to signify *gloom*. Absolute darkness is, strictly speaking, invisible; but where there is a gloom only, there is so much light remaining, as serves to show that there are objects, and yet that those objects cannot be distinctly seen. PEARCE.

Seneca has a like expression, speaking of the grotto of Pausilipo, *Epist.* lvii. "Nihil illo carcere longius, nihil illis faucibus obscurius, quæ nobis præstant, non ut *per tenebras* videamus, sed ut *ipfas*." And, as Voltaire observes, Antonio de Solis, in his history of Mexico, speaking of the place wherein Montezuma consulted his deities, says; "It was a large dark subterranean vault, where some dismal tapers afforded just *light enough to see the obscurity*." So Euripides, *Bacchæ*, v. 310.

————— *et ætæternæ tenebræ*  
 There is much the same image in Spenser, but not so bold, *Færr. Qu.* i. i. 14.



Serv'd only to discover fights of woe,  
 Regions of Sorrow, doleful shades, where peace 65  
 And rest can never dwell; hope never comes  
 That comes to all; but torture without end  
 Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed  
 With ever-burning sulphur unconsum'd:  
 Such place Eternal Justice had prepar'd 70  
 For those rebellious; here their prison ordain'd  
 In utter darkness, and their portion set  
 As far remov'd from God and light of Heaven,

"A little glooming light, much like a shade."

Or, after all, Milton might take the hint from his own *Il Penseroso*.

"Where glowing embers through the room

"Teach light to counterfeit a gloom." NEWTON.

Ver. 66. ———— *Hope never comes*

*That comes to all;*] Dante's inscription over the  
 gates of hell has been generally supposed to be here copied, *Infer-*  
*c. iii. 9.*

"*Lasciate ogni speranza, voi che 'ntrate.*"

Dr. Hurd adds, from Euripides, a similar expression, *Troad. 676.*

" ———— ἐξ', ὁ πᾶσι λαιπύλαι βροτοῖς,

εὐμενὶ ἰλπίς.

Mr. Bowle cites also from Sidney's *Arcadia*, B. ii. p. 322, this  
 observation: "He would not put himself into that hell to be *hope-*  
*less.*" — The following passage from Dante's description of the  
 damned may likewise be compared, *Inferno, c. v. 44.*

"*Nulla speranza gli conforta mai,*

"*Non che di posa, ma di minor pena.*"

Ver. 71. ———— *their prison ordain'd*

*In utter darkness;*] *Wisdom, xviii. 4.* "They  
 were worthy to be deprived of light and imprisoned in darkness."

As from the center thrice to the utmost pole.  
 O, how unlike the place from whence they fell! 75  
 There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelm'd  
 With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,  
 He soon discerns; and weltering by his side  
 One next himself in power, and next in crime,  
 Long after known in Palestine, and nam'd 80  
 Beëlzebub. To whom the Arch-Enemy,  
 And thence in Heaven call'd Satan, with bold  
 words

Ver. 74. *As from the center thrice to the utmost pole.*] Thrice as far as it is from the center of the earth, which is the center of the world according to Milton's system, B. ix. 103, and B. x. 671, to the pole of the world; for it is the pole of the universe, far beyond the pole of the earth, which is here called the *utmost pole*. Homer makes the seat of Hell as far beneath the deepest pit of earth, as the Heaven is above the earth, *Iliad* viii. 16. Virgil makes it *twice* as far, *Æn.* vi. 578. And Milton *thrice* as far. As if these three great poets had stretched their utmost genius, and vied with each other, who should extend his idea of the depth of Hell farthest. But Milton's whole description of Hell as much exceeds theirs, as in this single circumstance of the depth of it. And how cool and unassuming is the *Τάρταρον ἠρώβητα, the σιδερέαις τε πύλαις καὶ χαλκίῳς ὑδαῖς*, of Homer; the "*lugentes campi*," the "*ferrea turris*," and "*horrissono stridentes cardine portæ*," of Virgil; in comparison with this description by Milton, concluding with that artful contrast,

"O, how unlike the place from whence they fell!"

NEWTON.

Ver. 81. *Beëlzebub.*] He is called *Prince of the devils*, *Matt.* xii. 24; therefore deservedly here made second to Satan himself. HUMER.

Ver. 82. *And thence in Heaven call'd Satan,*] For the word *Satan*, in Hebrew, signifies an *enemy*: He is *THE ENEMY* by way of eminence; the chief enemy of God and man. NEWTON.

Breaking the horrid silence, thus began.

If thou bee'st he; but O, how fall'n! how  
chang'd

From him, who, in the happy realms of light, 85  
Cloth'd with transcendent brightness, didst out-  
shine

Myriads though bright! If he whom mutual  
league,

United thoughts and counsels, equal hope

And hazard in the glorious enterprise,

Join'd with me once, now misery hath join'd 90

In equal ruin: into what pit thou see'st

Ver. 84. ——— but O, how fall'n! how chang'd

From him,] He imitates Isaiah and Virgil at the  
same time: *Isaiah* xiv. 12. "How art thou fallen from heaven,  
&c." And Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 274.

"Hei mihi, qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo!"

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NEWTON.

Ver. 86. *Cloth'd with transcendent brightness, didst outshine*

*Myriads though bright!]* Imitated from Homer,

*Odys.* vi. 110, where Diana excels all her nymphs in beauty,  
though all of them be beautiful:

"Ῥαῖα δ' ἀριγνώτη πάλαι, καλαὶ δὲ τι πάσαι. BENTLEY.

Ver. 91. In *equal ruin*:] So it is in all the editions. "*And equal ruin*," is Dr. Bentley's emendation, which Dr. Pearce allows, and I believe every body must allow, to be just and proper; it being very easy to mistake one of these words for the other; and other instances perhaps may occur in the course of this work. *Equal ruin* hath joined now, as *equal hope* joined before; somewhat like that in Ovid, *Met.* i. 351.

"O foror, O conjux, O fœmina sola superstes,

"Quam commune mihi genus, et patruelis origo,

"Deinde torus junxit, nunc ipsa pericula jungunt."

From what highth fall'n; so much the stronger  
prov'd

He with his thunder: and till then who knew  
The force of those dire arms? Yet not for those,  
Nor what the potent victor in his rage 95  
Can else inflict, do I repent or change,

*In equal ruin cannot answer to in the glorious enterprise, because Milton places a comma after enterprise, and in construction it follows after hazard, not after join'd. NEWTON.*

Ver. 93. *He with his thunder:]* There is an uncommon beauty in this expression. Satan disdains to utter the name of God, though he cannot but acknowledge his superiority. See also v. 257. NEWTON. \*

Ver. 94. ——— yet not for those,

*Nor what the potent victor in his rage*

*Can else inflict, do I repent or change, &c.]* Milton,

in this and other passages where he describes the fierce and unrelenting spirit of Satan, seems very plainly to have copied after the picture that Æschylus gives of Prometheus. Thus Prometheus, speaking of Jupiter, *Prom. Vinct.* 991.

——— ῥιπύσθω μιν αἰθάλησσι φλόξ,

Λευκοπέρην δὲ ἱφάδι, καὶ βροθήμασι

Χθονίοις κυκώτω πάλλει, καὶ ταρασσέτω\*

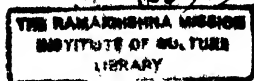
Γράμψει γὰρ ἔδιν τῶν δὲ μ', ὥς τε καὶ φράσαι, κ. τ. λ. THYER.

Possibly Milton might recollect the unsubdued spirit of Capaneus in Dante, *Inferno* xiv. 52.

“ Se Giove stanchi il suo fabbro, da cui  
“ Crucciato prese la folgore acuta,  
“ Onde l' ultimo di percosso fui,  
“ O s' egli stanchi gli altri, a' muta a muta,  
“ In Mongibello alla fucina negra,  
“ Gridando, Buon Vulcano, ajuta ajuta;  
“ Si com' e' fece alla pugna di Flegra,  
“ E me facti di tutta sua forza,  
“ Non ne potrebbe aver vendetta allegra.”

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Though chang'd in outward lustre, that fix'd  
mind,

And high disdain from sense of injur'd merit,  
That with the Mightiest rais'd me to contend,  
And to the fierce contention brought along 100  
Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd,  
That durst dislike his reign, and, me preferring,  
His utmost power with adverse power oppos'd  
In dubious battle on the plains of Heaven,  
And shook his throne. What though the field  
be lost? 105

All is not lost; the unconquerable will,  
And study of revenge, immortal hate,  
And courage never to submit or yield,  
And what is else not to be overcome;

Ver. 98. *And high disdain*] Thus Spenser, *Fær. Qu. i. i. 19.*

“ His gall did grate for grief and *high disdain.* ”

This is the *alto sdegno* of the Italians, from whom no doubt he had it. THYER.

Ver. 105. ——— *What though the field be lost?*

*All is not lost; &c.*] This passage is an excellent improvement upon Satan's speech to the infernal spirits in Tasso, c. iv. st. 15; but seems to be expressed from Fairfax's translation, rather than from the original;

“ We lost the field, yet lost we not our heart.” NEWTON,

Ver. 109. *And what is else not to be overcome;*] Milton's own, as well as all subsequent, editions, till Dr. Newton's appeared, read this line with a note of interrogation. But Dr. Pearce observed, there should be only a semicolon; as the words signify, *And if there be any thing else, besides the particulars mentioned, which is not to be overcome,*

That glory never shall his wrath or might 110  
 Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace  
 With suppliant knee, and deify his power,  
 Who from the terrour of this arm so late  
 Doubted his empire; that were low indeed,  
 That were an ignominy, and shame beneath 115  
 This downfall; since by fate the strength of Gods  
 And this empyreal substance cannot fail,  
 Since through experience of this great event  
 In arms not worse, in foresight much advanc'd,  
 We may with more successful hope resolve 120  
 To wage by force or guile eternal war,  
 Irreconcilable to our grand foe,  
 Who now triumphs, and, in the excess of joy  
 Sole reigning, holds the tyranny of Heaven.

Ver. 110. *That glory, &c.*] *That* refers to what went before; to his *unconquerable will, and study of revenge, his immortal hate, and courage never to submit or yield*, and what besides is *not to be overcome*; these Satan esteems his glory, and *that glory* he says God should never extort from him. Then begins a new sentence, according to all the best editions, *To bow and sue for grace, &c., that were low indeed, &c.*; *that* still referring to what went before: And, by observing this punctuation, this whole passage, which has perplexed and confounded many readers and writers, is rendered plain and easy to be understood. NEWTON.

Ver. 116. ——— *since by fate, &c.*] For Satan supposes the Angels to subsist by fate and necessity; and he represents them of an *empyreal*, that is a *fiery*, substance, as the Scripture itself does, *Psal. civ. 4.* "He maketh his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire." NEWTON.

Ver. 124. ——— *the tyranny of Heaven.*] The poet, speaking in his own person at v. 42 of the supremacy of the Deity,

So spake the apostate Angel, though in pain, 125  
 Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair :  
 And him thus answer'd soon his bold compeer.

O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers,  
 That led the embattled Seraphim to war  
 Under thy conduct, and, in dreadful deeds 130  
 Fearless, endanger'd Heaven's perpetual king,

calls it "*the throne and monarchy of God*;" but here very artfully alters it to *the tyranny of Heaven*. THYER.

Ver. 126. *Vaunting*] Thus Virgil, *Æn.* i. 212,

" Talia voce refert, curisque ingentibus æger

" Spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem."

Theocritus has expressed this in a more simple manner, as better suited to the pastoral stile, *Idyll.* i. 95.

————— ἂ Κίπρις γιλάοισα,  
 Λαθρα μὲν γιλάοισα, βαρὺν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔχκοισα.

Homer's description of Juno in the same circumstances is more majestic :

————— ἥ δὲ γέλασσε  
 Χίλισιν ἐδὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὀφρύσι κυανέοις  
 ἰάδῃ—

One needs not be afraid to pronounce Milton's verse superlative to any of these above-quoted, both in the brevity and energy of expression, and justness of the thought, arising from the nature of the foregoing speech, and Satan's present misery. *Glasgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 128. *O Prince, O Chief &c.*] Pope has imitated the two first lines of this speech, in his translation of the *Iliad*, xiii. 333,

" O Prince! (Mecriones replies) whose care

" Leads forth the embattled sons of Crete to war; &c."

Ver. 131. ———— *endanger'd Heaven's perpetual king.*] The reader should remark here the propriety of the word *perpe-*

And put to proof his high supremacy,  
 Whether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate;  
 Too well I see, and rue the dire event,  
 That with sad overthrow, and foul defeat, 135  
 Hath lost us Heaven, and all this mighty host  
 In horrible destruction laid thus low,  
 As far as Gods and heavenly effences  
 Can perish: for the mind and spirit remains  
 Invincible, and vigour soon returns, 140  
 Though all our glory extinct, and happy state  
 Here swallow'd up in endless misery.  
 But what if he our conquerour (whom I now  
 Of force believe Almighty, since no less 144

\*

*tual*. Beëlzebub does not say *eternal* king, for then he could not have boasted of *endangering* his kingdom: but he endeavours to detract as much as he can from God's everlasting dominion, and calls him only *perpetual king*, king from time immemorial or without interruption, as Ovid uses *perpetuum*, *Met.* i. 4.

————— “ primâque ab origine mundi  
 “ Ad mea *perpetuum* deducite tempora carmen.”

What Beëlzebub means here, is expressed more at large afterwards by Satan, v. 637, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 141. *Though all our glory extinct,*] As a flame put out and extinguished for ever. This word is very properly applied to their irrecoverable loss of that angelick beauty, which accompanied them when in a state of innocence. The Latins have used the word *extinctus* in the same metaphorical sense. Thus Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 332.

————— “ te propter eundem  
 “ *Extinctus* pudor, et, qua sola fidera adibam,  
 “ Fama prior.” *Glasgow edit.* 1750.



Than such could have o'er-power'd such force as  
ours)

Have left us this our spirit and strength entire  
Strongly to suffer and support our pains,  
That we may so suffice his vengeful ire,  
Or do him mightier service as his thralls  
By right of war, whate'er his business be, 150  
Here in the heart of Hell to work in fire,  
Or do his errands in the gloomy deep ;  
What can it then avail, though yet we feel  
Strength undiminish'd, or eternal being  
To undergo eternal punishment ? 155  
Whereto with speedy words the Arch-Fiend  
replied. \*

Fall'n Cherub, to be weak is miserable

Ver. 150. ——— *whate'er his business be,*] The business which God has appointed for us to do. So, in B. ii. 70, "*his torments*" are the torments which he has appointed for us to suffer. Many instances of this way of speaking may be found in this Poem. PEARCE.

Ver. 156. *Whereto*] To what he had said last, which had startled Satan, and to which he thinks it proper to make a *speedy* reply. *Speedy words* are better applied here than *ἡμεῖς ἀπορίσθαι* are always in Homer. NEWTON.

Ver. 157. ——— *to be weak is miserable*

*Doing or suffering :*] Satan having in his speech boasted that the "*strength of Gods could not fail,*" v. 116; and Beëlzebub having said v. 146, "*If God has left us this our strength entire to suffer pain strongly, or to do him mightier service as his thralls, what then can our strength avail us ?*" Satan here replies very properly, whether we are to *suffer* or to *work*, yet still it is some comfort to have our strength undiminished; For it is a *mi-*

Doing or suffering : but of this be sure,  
 To do aught good never will be our task,  
 But ever to do ill our sole delight, 160  
 As being the contrary to his high will  
 Whom we resist. If then his providence  
 Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,  
 Our labour must be to pervert that end,  
 And out of good still to find means of evil ; 165  
 Which oft-times may succeed, so as perhaps  
 Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb  
 His inmost counsels from their destin'd aim.  
 But see, the angry victor hath recall'd

*ferable* thing, says he, *to be weak* and without strength, whether we are *doing* or *suffering*. This is the sense of the place ; and this is farther confirmed by what Belial says, B. ii. 199.

————— “ To *suffer*, as to *do*,  
 “ Our *strength* is equal.” PEARCE.

Ver. 169. *But see, the angry victor hath recall'd, &c.*] Dr. Bentley has really made a very material objection to this and some other passages of the poem, wherein the good Angels are represented, as pursuing the rebel host with fire and thunderbolts, down through Chaos, even to the gates of Hell ; as being contrary to the account, which the Angel Raphael gives to Adam in the sixth book. And it is certain that there the good Angels are ordered to *stand still only and behold*, and the Messiah alone expels them out of Heaven ; and, after he has expelled them, and Hell has closed upon them, B. vi. 380,

“ Sole victor from the expulsion of his foes  
 “ Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd ;  
 “ To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood  
 “ Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,  
 “ With jubilee advanc'd.”

His ministers of vengeance and pursuit      170  
 Back to the gates of Heaven : the sulphurous  
     hail,  
 Shot after us in storm, o'erblown, hath laid

These accounts are plainly contrary the one to the other : but the author does not therefore contradict himself, nor is one part of his scheme inconsistent with another. For it should be considered, who are the persons that give these different accounts. In book the sixth the Angel Raphael is the speaker, and therefore his account may be depended upon as the genuine and exact truth of the matter. But in the other passages Satan himself or some of his Angels are the speakers; and they were too proud and obstinate ever to acknowledge the Messiah for their conquerour; as their rebellion was raised on his account, they would never own his superiority; they would rather ascribe their defeat to the whole host of heaven than to *him alone*; or, if they did indeed imagine their pursuers to be so many in number, their fears multiplied them, and it serves admirably to express how much they were terrified and confounded. In book the sixth, 830, the noise of his chariot is compared to the *sound of a numerous host*; and perhaps they might think that a numerous host were really pursuing. In one place indeed we have Chaos speaking thus, B. ii. 996.

———— “ and Heaven gates

“ Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands

“ Pursuing : ”

But what a condition was Chaos in during the fall of the rebel Angels? See B. vi. 871.

“ Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,

“ And felt tenfold confusion in their fall

“ Through this wild anarchy, so huge a rout

“ Incumber'd him with ruin.”

We must suppose him therefore to speak according to his own frighted and disturbed imagination; he might conceive that so much

“ Ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,”

The fiery furge, that from the precipice  
 Of Heaven receiv'd us falling; and the thunder,  
 Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,  
 Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now 176  
 To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.  
 Let us not slip the occasion, whether scorn,  
 Or satiate fury, yield it from our Foe.  
 Seest thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild, 180  
 The seat of Desolation, void of light,  
 Save what the glimmering of these livid flames  
 Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend  
 From off the tossing of these fiery waves;  
 There rest, if any rest can harbour there; 185

could not all be effected by a single hand: and what a sublime idea must it give us of the terrors of the Messiah, that he alone should be as formidable as if the whole host of Heaven were pursuing! So that this seeming contradiction, upon examination, proves rather a beauty than any blemish to the poem. NEWTON.

Ver. 181. *The seat of Desolation, void of light,*] The former part of this line resembles a phrase in Lodge's *Looking Glasse for London*, 1598.

“ These pallaces, the pride of Assur's kings,

“ Shall be the bowres of Desolation:”

And the latter part, an expression in Dante, *Inf. c. v. 28.*

“ I' venni in luogo d' ogni luce muto.”

Ver. 182. — *the glimmering of these livid flames*] So Dante calls Charon, “ nocchier della livida palude,” *Inf. c. iii.* And, in like manner, the Stygian lake is called by Statius, *Theb. i. 57.*

—— “ umbrifero Styx livida fundo.”

Ver. 185. *There rest, if any rest can harbour there;*] The turn of the words in this verse, resembles a passage in Shakspeare, *Rich. II. A. v. S. i.*

And, re-assembling our afflicted Powers,  
 Consult how we may henceforth most offend  
 Our enemy; our own loss how repair;  
 How overcome this dire calamity;  
 What reinforcement we may gain from hope; 190  
 If not, what resolution from despair.

Thus Satan talking to his nearest mate  
 With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes  
 That sparkling blaz'd; his other parts besides  
 Prone on the flood, extended long and large, 195  
 Lay floating many a rood; in bulk as huge  
 As whom the fables name of monstrous size,

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"Here let us rest, if this rebellious earth

"Have any resting." BOWLE.

Ver. 186. ————— *our afflicted powers,*] Afflicted is here intended to be understood in the Latin sense, *routed, ruined, utterly broken.* RICHARDSON.

Ver. 191. *If not, what resolution*] *What* reinforcement; to which is returned "*If not*;" a vicious syntax: But the poet gave it "*If none*." BENTLEY.

Ver. 193. ————— *eyes*

*That sparkling blaz'd,*] Dante, *Inf.* c. iii. 109.

"Caron dimonio, con occhi di bragia."

Spenser is more elaborate in his description of the *Old Dragon's* eyes, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 14.

"His blazing eyes, like two bright shining shields,

"Did burn with wrath, and sparkled living fire."

Ver. 196. ————— *in bulk as huge, &c.*] So Dante, speaking of the devil, *Inferno*, c. xxxiv. 30.

"E più con gigante i' mi convegno,

"Che i giganti non fan con le sue braccia: &c."

Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove;  
 Briareos or Typhon, whom the den  
 By ancient Tarsus held; or that sea-beast      200  
 Leviathan, which God of all his works  
 Created hugest that swim the ocean stream:

Ver. 199. *Briareos*] To be read in *four* syllables, and not *Briareus*, which is pronounced as *three*, Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 287.

NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— or *Typhon*, &c.] Typhon is the same with Typhoeus. That *the den* of Typhoeus was in Cilicia, of which *Tarsus* was a celebrated city, we are told by Pindar and Pomponius Mela. I am much mistaken, if Milton did not make use of Farnaby's note on Ovid, *Met.* v. 347, to which I refer the reader. He took *ancient Tarsus* perhaps from Nonnus:

Ταρὶς αἰδομένη πρωτόπληκς,

which is quoted in Lloyd's Dictionary. JORTIN.

Ver. 201. *Leviathan*,] The best critics seem to agree, that the *leviathan*, in *Job*, means the *crocodile*; and Milton describes it, in the same manner, partly as a *fish*, and partly as a *beast*, and attributes *scales* to it: And yet by some things one would think that he took it rather for a *whale*, as was the general opinion; there being no crocodiles upon the coast of Norway, and what follows being related of the *whale*, but never, as I have heard, of the *crocodile*. NEWTON.

Ver. 202. ——— the *ocean stream*:] The Greek and Latin poets frequently turn substantives into adjectives. So Juvenal, according to the best copies, *Sat.* xi. 94.

“Qualis in oceano fluctu testudo nataret.” JORTIN.

So Homer, *Odyss.* xi. 638. Ὠκεανὸς ποταμὸς. But the phrase is common in our own poetry. Thus, in the *Hist. of Orlando Furioso*, 1599.

“To burst the billowes of the ocean sea.”

And in Drummond's *Poems*, 1616, part 2d.

“And too long painted on the ocean streames,”

Him, haply, slumbering on the Norway foam  
 The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff  
 Deeming some island, oft, as sea-men tell, 205  
 With fixed anchor in his skaly rind  
 Moors by his side under the lee, while night

And in Drayton's *Barons Warres*, 1627. c. v. ft. 50. "The ocean Breame."

Ver. 204. *The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff*] Some little boat, whose pilot dares not proceed in his course, for fear of the dark night; a metaphor taken from a *foundered* horse that can go no farther: Or, *night-founder'd*, in danger of sinking at night, from the term, *foundering at sea*. I prefer the former, as being Milton's aim. HUME.

The phrase in *Comus*, v. 483, confirms the former explication.

Ver. 205. ————— *as sea-men tell.*] Words well added to obviate the incredibility of casting anchor in this manner.

HUME.

Milton is justified in his description by various authorities. Olaus magnus writes a whole chapter *De anchoris dorso ceti impositis*. "Habet etiam cetus super corium suum superficiem tanquam sabulum quod est juxta littus maris: unde *plerunque*, elevato dorso suo super undas, à *navigantibus nihil aliud creditur esse quàm insula*. Itaque nautæ ad eum appellunt: et super eum descendunt, *inque ipsum palos figunt*, naves alligant, etc." There is a similar relation of the whale in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, i. 568. And Ariosto's description of the *balena*, an enormous sea-monster, affords another proof of fish having been taken for islands: *Orl. Fur.* c. vi. ft. 37.

"Ch'ella sia un *isoletta* ci credemo."

Ver. 207. *Invests the sea,*] A phrase often used by the poets, who call darkness the mantle of the night, with which she *invests* the earth. Milton, in another place, has another such beautiful figure, and truly poetical, when speaking of the moon; B. iv. 609,

"And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw."

And in another place, B. ix. 52,

"Night's hemisphere had *veil'd* the horizon round."

Invests the sea, and wish'd morn delays :  
 Soft stretch'd out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay  
 Chain'd on the burning lake: nor ever thence 210  
 Had ris'n, or heav'd his head; but that the will  
 And high permission of all-ruling Heaven  
 Left him at large to his own dark designs;  
 That with reiterated crimes he might  
 Heap on himself damnation, while he sought 215  
 Evil to others; and, enrag'd, might see  
 How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth  
 Infinite goodness, grace and mercy, shown  
 On Man by him seduc'd; but on himself  
 Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd. 220  
 Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool  
 His mighty stature; on each hand the flames,  
 Driven backward, slope their pointing spires, and,  
 roll'd

In billows, leave i' the midst a horrid vale.  
 Then with expanded wings he steers his flight 225  
 Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air

Thence too the epithet of *καυρόπιπλος* given to the night by Musæus. Statius has a similar expression to that of Milton, *Theb.* v. 51.

————— “ ingenti tellurem proximus umbra  
 “ *Vestit Athos, nemorūque obscurat imagine pontum.*”  
*Glasgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 226. ————— *incumbent on the dusky air*  
*That felt unusual weight,*] This conceit of the  
*air's feeling unusual weight,* is borrowed from Spenser's descrip-  
 tion of the Old Dragon, *Fær. Qn.* i. xi. 18.



That felt unusual weight ; till on dry land  
 He lights, if it were land that ever burn'd  
 With solid, as the lake with liquid fire ;  
 And such appear'd in hue, as when the force 230  
 Of subterranean wind transports a hill  
 Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side

“ Then with his waving wings displayed wyde,  
 “ Himselfe up high he lifted from the ground,  
 “ And with strong flight did forcibly divyde  
 “ The yielding *ayre*, which nigh *too feeble* found  
 “ Her sitting parts, and element unfound,  
 “ *To beare so great a weight.*” THYER.

P. Fletcher, in his *Purp. Island*, c. 12. st. 59, speaks in like manner of the dragon ; as Mr. Headley also has observed :

“ So up he rose upon his stretched fails  
 “ Fearlesse expecting his approaching death :  
 “ So up he rose, that the *ayer* starts, and fails,  
 “ And, *over-pressed*, sinks his load beneath :  
 “ So up he rose, as does a thunder-cloud,  
 “ Which all the earth with shadows black does shroud :  
 “ So up he rose, and through the *weary ayer* row'd.”

Ver. 229. ———— *with liquid fire,*] Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 33.

“ *Et liquidi simul ignis.*” NEWTON.

So Lucret. vi. 204.

————— *liquidi color aureus ignis.*”

The phrase is also in Shakspeare's *Othello*, and in Crashaw's *Sacred Poems*, 1652, p. 106. Milton repeats the phrase, v. 701.

Ver. 231. *Of subterranean wind*] Dr. Pearce conjectures, that it should be read *winds*, because it is said “ aid the *winds*,” afterwards ; and the conjecture seems probable and ingenious : The “ fuell'd entrails aid and encrease the *winds*” which first blew up the fire. NEWTON.

Ver. 232. *Torn from Pelorus,*] Dante, *Purg.* c. xiv. 32.

“ *L'alpestro monte, ond' è tronco Peloro.*”

Of thundering Ætna, whose combustible  
 And fuell'd entrails thence conceiving fire,  
 Sublim'd with mineral fury, aid the winds, 235  
 And leave a sing'd bottom all involv'd  
 With stench and smoke : such resting found the  
 sole

Of unblest feet. Him follow'd his next mate :  
 Both glorying to have 'scap'd the Stygian flood  
 As Gods, and by their own recover'd strength, 240  
 Not by the sufferance of supernal Power.

Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,  
 Said then the lost Arch-Angel, this the seat  
 That we must change for Heaven; this mournful  
 gloom

For that celestial light ? Be it so, since he, 245  
 Who now is Sovran, can dispose and bid  
 What shall be right : farthest from him is best,  
 Whom reason hath equall'd, force hath made  
 supreme

Above his equals. Farewell happy fields,  
 Where joy for ever dwells : Hail horrors, hail  
 Infernal world, and thou, profoundest Hell, 251

*Pelorus*, one of the three great promontories of Sicily, is now called *Cape Faro*. It is not far from mount Ætna.

Ver. 246. *Who now is Sovran,*] So Milton spells it after the Italian *sovranos*. It is not easy to account for the formation of our word *sovereign*. NEWTON.

Ver. 247. ——— *farthest from him is best,*] This is express'd from the Greek proverb, Πόρην Διὸς τι καὶ κεραυνῶ, *Far from Jupiter, but far too from thunder*. BENTLEY.

Receive thy new possessour ; one who brings  
 A mind not to be chang'd by place or time :  
 The mind is its own place, and in itself  
 Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.  
 What matter where, if I be still the same, 256  
 And what I should be ; all but less than he  
 Whom thunder hath made greater ? Here at least  
 We shall be free ; the Almighty hath not built  
 Here for his envy, will not drive us hence : 260  
 Here we may reign secure, and, in my choice,  
 To reign is worth ambition, though in Hell :  
 Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.

Ver. 252. *Receive thy new possessour ;*] This passage seems to be an improvement upon the *Ajax* of Sophocles, where Ajax, before he kills himself, cries out much in the same manner ;

ὦ σπέος, ἰμὸν φάος, ἱεμεύς  
 Ω φανὸν ὡς ἱμοί,  
 ἔλισθ', ἔλισθ' εὐκέρτορα,  
 ἔλισθί μιν. NEWTON.

Ver. 254. *The mind is its own place, &c.*] These are some of the extravagancies of the Stoicks, and could not be better ridiculed than they are here, by being put in the mouth of Satan in his present situation. THYER.

The sentiment corresponds to what Hamlet says in Shakspeare :  
 " There is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so."

BOWLE.

Ver. 263. *Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.*] Dr. Newton observes, that this line is a very fine improvement upon Prometheus's answer to Mercury in *Æschylus, Prom. Bound.* 965—967.

Compare also P. Fletcher's *Lothli*, 1627, p. 37.

\* " Thus fell this Prince of darkness, once a bright

" And glorious starre ; —————

But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,  
 The associates and copartners of our loss, 265  
 Lie thus astonish'd on the oblivious pool,  
 And call them not to share with us their part  
 In this unhappy mansion ; or once more  
 With rallied arms to try what may be yet  
 Regain'd in Heaven, or what more lost in Hell ?

So Satan spake, and him Beëlzebub 271  
 Thus answer'd. Leader of those armies bright,  
 Which but the Omnipotent none could have foil'd,  
 If once they hear that voice, their liveliest pledge  
 Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft 275  
 In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge  
 Of battle when it rag'd, in all assaults  
 Their surest signal, they will soon resume  
 New courage and revive ; though now they lie  
 Groveling and prostrate on yon lake of fire, 280  
 As we ere while, astounded and amaz'd ;  
 No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious highth.

He scarce had ceas'd when the superiour Fiend  
 Was moving toward the shore : his ponderous  
 shield,

Ethereal temper, massy, large and round, 285

*" To be in heaven the second he disdaineth :*

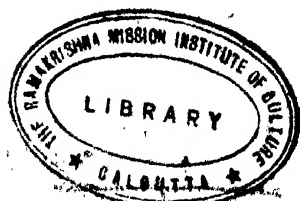
*" So now the first in hell and flames he raïnes,*

*" Crown'd once with joy and light ; now crown'd with fire  
 and paines."*

Ver, 276. ————— on the perilous edge

Of battle] See Mr. Dunster's note on *Paradise  
 Regain'd*, B. i. 94.

D 3



Behind him cast ; the broad circumference  
 Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb  
 Through optick glâsſ the Tuſcan artiſt views  
 At evening from the top of Fefolê,  
 Or in Valdarno, to deſcry new lands, 290  
 Rivers or mountains in her ſpotty globe.  
 His ſpear, to equal which the tallèſt pine

Ver. 287. *Hung on his ſhoulders like the moon,*] So Spenſer deſcribes the ſhield of Radigund, *Faery Queen*, v. v. 3.

“ And on her ſhoulder hung her ſhield, bedeck’t

“ Upon the boſſe with ſtones that ſhined wide,

“ As the faire moone in her moſt full aſpect,

“ That to the moone it mote be like in each reſpect.”

The author of *Douglas* had an eye to Milton’s ſimile, A. ii. S. i.

“ This moon, which roſe laſt night, round as my ſhield,

“ Had not yet fill’d her horns, &c.”

So Pope, in tranſlating Homer’s ſimilics, *Iliad* xi. 673.

“ O’er his broad back his moony ſhield he threw.”

And *Iliad* xix. 402.

— “ Like the moon, the broad refulgent ſhield.”

Compare alſo Callimachus, *Hymn. Dian.* v. 53.

Ver. 289. *Fefolê,*] A town of Tuſcany, near Florence.  
 “ Mean time here we are however in Arno’s vale ; [*Valdarno* ;]  
 the full moon ſhining over *Fieſole*, which I ſee from my windows.  
 Milton’s verſes every moment in one’s mouth, and *Galileo’s houſe*  
 twenty yards from one’s door.” Obſerv. in a Journey through  
 Italy, by Mrs. Piozzi, 1789, vol. i. p. 271.

Ver. 292. *His ſpear, to equal which, &c.*] Milton ſeems to  
 have borrowed this deſcription from Cowley, who ſays of Goliah,

“ His ſpear, the trunk was of a lofty tree,

“ Which Nature meant ſome tall ſhip’s maſt ſhould be.”

JOHNSON.

Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast  
 Of some great ammiral, were but a wand,  
 He walk'd with, to support uneasy steps 295  
 Over the burning marle, not like those steps  
 On Heaven's azure, and the torrid clime  
 Smote on him fore besides, vaulted with fire :  
 Nathless he so endur'd, till on the beach

Ver. 293. ——— *Norwegian-hills,*] The hills of Norway, barren and rocky, but abounding in vast woods, from whence are brought masts of the largest size. HUME.

Ver. 294. *Of some great ammiral,*] From the German *amiral* or *amirael*, says Hume; from the Italian *ammiraglio*, says Richardson more probably. Milton made choice of this, as thinking it of a better sound than *admiral*; and in Latin he writes *ammiralatus curia*, "the court of admiralty." NEWTON.

*Ammiral*, that is, any *great* or *capital ship*. In this sense the word frequently occurs in Sir R. Hawkins's "Observations in his Voyage to the South Seas," ed. 1622. fol. "The *Admirall* of the Spanish Armado was a Flemish *shippe*," p. 9. Again, "The *Admirall*, in which I came, a *ship* of about five hundred tunnes." p. 87.—Hume and Dr. Newton have mistaken the sense of this place. Dobson renders the word, not improperly, by *prætoria puppis*. Rolli finely italianizes it by this line,

"Per arborarum un' ammirante nave." BOWLE,

I must add, that Fairfax, in his translation of *Tasso*, edit. 1600, p. 92, spells the word, *amrall*. And Fanshawe, in his translation of the *Lusiad* of Camões, 1655, generally spells it, *ammiral*.

Ver. 299. *Nathless*] Nevertheless. Thus Chaucer, *Prologue* to *Cant. Tales*,

"But *nathless* while that I have time and space,"

And Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. ix. 54.

"Yet *nathelesse* it could not doe him die."

In the same form Spenser uses *nathemore* for *not the more*, *ibid.* i. viii. 13. *Glasgow edit.* 1750.

Of that inflamed sea he stood, and call'd 300  
 His legions, Angel forms, who lay intranc'd  
 Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks  
 In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades,

Ver. 302. *Thick as autumnal leaves*] The comparison of *multitudes to leaves*, occurs in Homer, Virgil, and other ancient poets; but without any such accompanying scenery as in Milton. The number of *evil spirits* is likewise illustrated simply by this comparison, in Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* c. ix. st. 66.

“ Nè tante vede mai l' Autunno al suolo.

“ Cader co' primi freddi aride foglie.”

And in Dante the multitude of those who enter Charon's boat, is represented by the same image, *Inferno*, c. iii. 112.

“ Come d' Autunno si levan le foglie,

“ L' una appressa dell' altra, infin che 'l ramo

“ Rende alla terra tutte le sue spoglie :”

Here the leaves lie *in heaps upon the ground*; but, in Milton, they *strow the brooks*, as his angels *covered the burning lake*. There is also a beautiful simile, which Milton might have in view, in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xvi. st. 75.

“ Poi son le genti senza nome tante,

“ Che del lor sangue oggi faranno un lago,

“ Che meglio conterei ciascuna foglia,

“ Quando l' Autunno gli arbori ne spoglia.”

Ver. 303. *In Vallombrosa*,] This vale, celebrated for its piety and situation, is about eighteen miles from Florence. It is thus sweetly described by Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxii. st. 36.

“ Così fu nominata una badia

“ Ricca, e bella, nè men religiosa,

“ E cortese a chiunque vi venia.”

Milton, no doubt, had visited this delightful spot. His accuracy, however, was called in question by some gentlemen, who, in 1789, having seen it, contradicted the assertion,

“ *Thick as autumnal leaves* in Vallombrosa ;”

High over-arch'd, imbower ; or scatter'd sedge  
 Afloat; when with fierce winds Orion arm'd 305  
 Hath vex'd the Red-Sea coast, whose waves  
 o'erthrew

Bufiris and his Memphian chivalry,

because, as they said, the trees are all ever-green in those woods. But, Mrs. Piozzi observes, "Milton was right, it seems, notwithstanding : For the botanists tell me, that nothing makes *more litter*, than the *bedding of leaves*, which replace themselves by others, as on the plants styled *ever-green* ; which change like every tree, but only do not change all at once, and remain stript till Spring." Observations, &c. as before, vol. i. p. 323.

Ver. 305. ——— [with fierce winds Orion arm'd] Orion is a constellation represented in the figure of an *armed man*, and supposed to be attended with stormy weather : "*assurgens fluctu nimbofus Orion*." Virg. *Aen.* i. 539. NEWTON.

So Petrarch, *Son.* xxxiii. parte prima.

"Allor riprendre ardir Saturno e Marte

"Crudeli stelle ; ed Oriane armato

"Spezza a' tristi nocchier governi, e farte."

Ver. 306. *Hath vex'd the Red-Sea coast,*] The Red-Sea abounds so much with sedge, that in the Hebrew Scriptures it is called "*The Sedgey Sea*." \* And Milton says "*hath vex'd the Red-Sea coast*" particularly, because the wind usually drives the sedge in great quantities towards the shore. NEWTON.

Ver. 307. *Bufiris and his Memphian chivalry,*] *Pharaoh* has been called by some writers *Bufiris*, as Dr. Pearce and Hume have noted. And *chivalry* signifies not only *knighthood*, but *persons who use horses in fight* ; both such as ride on horses, and such as ride in chariots drawn by them ; as Dr. Pearce illustrates by v. 765, by *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 344, and by several references to Fairfax's Tasso. It may be added, that *cavalleria*, in Italian, has a signification equally extensive ; being used "*per ogni genere di milizie, così cavaliere si disse per soldato*." Della Crusca. So Milton, in his *Hist. of Eng.* B. iii. "*Artur with all his chivalry*."



While with perfidious hatred they pursued  
 The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld.  
 From the safe shore their floating carcasses 310  
 And broken chariot wheels: so thick bestrown,  
 Abject and lost lay these, covering the flood,  
 Under amazement of their hideous change.  
 He call'd so loud, that all the hollow deep  
 Of Hell resounded. Princes, Potentates, 315  
 Warriours, the flower of Heaven, once yours,  
 now lost,  
 If such astonishment as this can seize  
 Eternal Spirits; or have ye chos'n this place  
 After the toil of battle to repose  
 Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find 320  
 To slumber here, as in the vales of Heaven?  
 Or in this abject posture have ye sworn  
 To adore the conquerour? who now beholds

Ver. 308. ——— *perfidious hatred*] Because Pharaoh, after leave given to the Israelites to depart, followed after them as fugitives. HUME.

Ver. 310. *From the safe shore, &c.*] Much has been said of the long similitudes of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, wherein they fetch a compass as it were to draw in new images, besides those in which the direct point of likeness consists. I think they have been sufficiently justified in the general: But, in this before us, while the poet is digressing, he raises a new similitude from the floating carcasses of the Egyptians. HEYLAN.

Ver. 314. ——— *all the hollow deep  
 Of Hell resounded.*] So, at the blast of the Infernal Trumpet, in Tasso, *Gier. Lib. c. ii. st. 3.*

“ Treman le spatioso atre caverne,

“ Et l' aer cieco à quel rumor rimbomba.”

Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood  
 With scatter'd arms and ensigns, till anon 325  
 His swift pursuers from Heaven-gates discern  
 The advantage, and, descending, tread us down  
 Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts  
 Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.  
 Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n. 330

They heard, and were abash'd, and up they  
 sprung

Upon the wing; as when men wont to watch  
 On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,  
 Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.  
 Nor did they not perceive the evil plight 335  
 In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;  
 Yet to their general's voice they soon obey'd;

Ver. 328. ——— with linked thunderbolts

*Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.*] This alludes  
 to the fate of Ajax Oileus, Virg. *Æn.* i. 44,

“ Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammas

“ Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto.”

Compare the devil's speech to his damned assembly, in Tasso, canto  
 the fourth, from stanza 9 to stanza 18, which Milton had seen,  
 but has borrowed little of. HUME.

Ver. 330. *Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n.*] Pope, in his  
 imitation of this line, falls short of its dignity, *Odyss.* xxiv. 498.

“ Arise (or ye for ever fall) arise!”

Ver. 337. *Yet to their general's voice they soon obey'd*] Thus  
 Chaucer, in his *Legend of women*,

“ That as an harp obeyeth to the hand.”

And Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* iii. xi. 35.

“ Lo, now the heavens obey to me alone.”

Innumerable. As when the potent rod  
 Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,  
 Wav'd round the coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud 340  
 Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,  
 That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung  
 Like night, and darken'd all the land of Nile:  
 So numberless were those bad Angels seen  
 Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell 345  
 Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding fires;  
 Till, as a signal given, the up-lifted spear  
 Of their great Sultan waving to direct  
 Their course, in even balance down they light  
 On the firm brimstone, and fill all the plain; 350  
 A multitude, like which the populous North  
 Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to pass  
 Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons

And it is an expression of the same kind with the Latin, "*disci  
 audientes duci.*" C. Nepos, Iphicrat. c. ii.—*Glasgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 338. *As when the potent rod, &c.*] See Exodus x. 13,  
 14, 15. NEWTON.

Ver. 341. — *warping*] Working themselves forward; a  
 sea-term. HUME.

Ver. 351. *A multitude, like which the populous North  
 Pour'd never*] This comparison doth not fall be-  
 low the rest, as some have imagined. They were *thick* as the  
*leaves*, and *numberless* as the *locusts*; but, such a multitude the  
 North *never* poured forth: The subject of *this comparison* rises  
 very much above the others; the *leaves* and *locusts*. The Nor-  
 thern parts of the world are observed to be more fruitful of people,  
 than the hotter countries: hence, "the *populous North*," which  
 Sir William Temple calls, "*the Northern hive.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 353. *Rhene or the Danaw,*] He might have said,

Came like a deluge on the South, and spread  
 Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian sands. 355  
 Forthwith from every squadron and each band  
 The heads and leaders thither haste where stood  
 Their great Commander; Godlike shapes and  
 forms  
 Excelling human: princely Dignities;  
 And Powers that erst in Heaven sat on thrones; 360  
 Though of their names in heavenly records now

"*Rhine or the Danube*; but he chose *Rhene* of the Latin, and *Danaw* of the German. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *when her barbarous sons*] They were truly barbarous; for, besides exercising several cruelties, they destroyed all the monuments of learning and politeness wherever they came. They were the *Goths*, and *Huns*, and *Vandals*, who over-ran all the Southern provinces of Europe; and, crossing the Mediterranean *beneath Gibraltar*, landed in Africa, and spread themselves as far as Lybia. "*Beneath*" Gibraltar, means more *South-ward*; the *North* being *uppermost* in the globe. NEWTON.

Ver. 354. *Came like a deluge*] Spenser, describing the same people, has the same simile, *Faer. Qu. ii. x. 15*.

"And overflow'd all countries far away,

"*Like Noye's great flood*, with their importune sway."

NEWTON.

Lillo, in his *Christian Hero*, A. ii. S. i. seems to have copied Milton: \*

"When with resistless force your conquering troops

"*Pour'd, like a deluge*, o'er the realms of Greece."

Spenser's simile was probably borrowed from Petrarch, *Canz. xvi*.

"O diluvio raccolto

"Di che deserti strani

"Per inondar i nostri dolci campi."

Ver. 361. *Though of their names &c.*] *Psalms ix. 5, 6*.

"Thou hast put out *their name* for ever and ever. Their memo-



And Devils to adore for Deities :

Then were they known to men by various names,  
And various idols through the Heathen world. 375  
Say, Muse, their names then known, who first,  
who last,

Rous'd from the slumber, on that fiery couch,  
At their great emperour's call, as next in worth  
Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,  
While the promiscuous croud stood yet aloof. 380  
The chief were those, who, from the pit of Hell  
Roaming to seek their prey on earth, durst fix  
Their seats long after next the seat of God,  
Their altars by his altar ; Gods ador'd  
Among the nations round ; and durst abide 385

Ver. 376. *Say, Muse, their names then known,*] Their *new names*. Milton finely considered, that the names, he was obliged to apply to these evil Angels, carry a bad signification, and therefore could not be those they had in their state of innocence and glory ; he has therefore said their *former names* are now lost, raised from amongst those of their old associates who retain their purity and happiness. RICHARDSON.

For the enumeration of the Syrian and Arabian deities, it may be observed, that Milton has comprised, in one hundred and thirty very beautiful lines, the two learned syntagmas, which Selden had composed on that abstruse subject. Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.* vol. i. p. 539, note. 4<sup>o</sup>. edit.

The exordium to this enumeration, "*who first, who last,*" is from Homer, *Il.* v. 703.

"Εἶθε τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον."

Ver. 382. *Roaming to seek their prey*] In allusion to that expression in Scripture, the devil "goeth about, like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." *Glasgow edit.* 1750.

Jehovah thundering out of Sion, thron'd  
 Between the Cherubim ; yea, often plac'd  
 Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,  
 Abominations ; and with cursed things  
 His holy rites and solemn feasts profan'd, 390  
 And with their darkness durst affront his light.  
 First, Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood  
 Of human sacrifice, and parents tears ;  
 Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud  
 Their childrens cries unheard, that pass'd through  
 fire 395

Ver. 386. ————— *thron'd*

*Between the Cherubim ;*] This relates to the ark being placed between the two golden Cherubim, I. *Kings* vi. 23. See also II. *Kings* xix. 15. HUME.

Ver. 387. ————— *yea, often plac'd*

*Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,*

*Abominations ;*] This is complained of by the prophet Jeremiah, vii. 30. So we read of Manasseh, II. *Kings* xxi. 4, 5. See also *Ezek.* vii. 20, and viii. 5, 6. NEWTON.

Ver. 392. *First, Moloch, horrid king,*] First, after Satan and Beëlzebub. *Moloch* signifies *king*, and he is called "*horrid king*," because of the human sacrifices which were made to him. The expression, "*pass'd through fire*," is taken from *Leviticus* xviii. 21, or II. *Kings* xxiii. 10. His idol was of brass, sitting on a throne, and wearing a crown; having the head of a calf, and his arms extended to receive the miserable victims which were to be sacrificed; and therefore it is here probably styled "*his grim idol*." He was the god of the Ammonites, I. *Kings* xi. 7, and was worshipped in *Rabba*, their capital city, called the *city of waters*, II. *Sam.* xii. 27; and in the neighbouring countries as far as to the river Arnon, the boundary of their country on the south.

NEWTON.

To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite  
 Worshipt in Rabba and her watery plain,  
 In Argob and in Bafan, to the stream  
 Of utmost Arnon : Nor content with such  
 Audacious neighbourhood, the wisest heart 400  
 Of Solomon he led by fraud to build  
 His temple right against the temple of God  
 On that opprobrious hill ; and made his grove  
 The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence  
 And black Gehenna call'd, the type of Hell. 405  
 Next, Chemos, the obscene dread of Moab's sons,

Ver. 396. *To his grim idol.*] Besmear'd with blood of human sacrifice, v. 392 : which description Pope has applied to his use, *Essay on Man*, Ep. iii. 266.

“ Next his grim idol smear'd with human blood.”

Ver. 400. ———— *the wisest heart*  
*Of Solomon he led &c.*] Solomon built a temple to Moloch on the mount of Olives, I. *Kings* xi. 7, which is therefore called “ *that opprobrious hill.*” NEWTON.

Tickell has thought proper to alter the text, by reading “ *the opprobrious hill.*” Fenton follows him.

Ver. 404. *The pleasant valley of Hinnom, &c.*] See *Jeremiah* vii. 31. It was called also *Tophet* from the Hebrew *toph*, a drum ; drums, and such like noisy instruments, being used to drown the cries of the miserable children who were offered to this idol. And *Gehenna*, or *the valley of Hinnom*, is in several places of the New Testament, and by our Saviour himself, made the name and “ *type of Hell.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 406. *Next, Chemos, &c.*] *Moloch* and *Chemos* are joined together, I. *Kings* xi. 7. And it was a natural transition from the god of the Ammonites to the god of their neighbours, the Moabites. St. Jerom, and several learned men, assert *Chemos* and *Baal-Peor* to be only different names for the same idol ; and



From Aroer to Nebo, and the wild  
 Of southmoſt Abarim; in Heſebon  
 And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond  
 The flowery dale of Sibma clad with vines. 410  
 And Elcälé to the Asphaltick pool.  
 Peor his other name, when he entic'd  
 Iſrael in Sittim, on their march from Nile,  
 To do him wanton rites, which coſt them woe.  
 Yet thence his luſtful orgies he enlarg'd 415  
 Even to that hill of ſcandal, by the grove  
 Of Moloch homicide; luſt hard by hate;

ſuppoſe him to be the ſame with *Priapus*, the idol of turpitude, and therefore here called "the *obſcene* dread of Moab's ſons, from *Aroer*," a city upon the Arnon, the boundary of their country to the north, "to *Nebo*," a city eaſtward, "and the wild of ſouthmoſt *Abarim*," a ridge of mountains, the boundary of their country to the ſouth; "In *Heſebon* and *Horonaim*," two cities of the Moabites, taken from them by *Sibon*, king of the Amorites, *Numb.* xxi. 26, "beyond *Sibma*," a place famous for vineyards; *Jer.* xlviii. 32, and *Elcälé*, another city of the Moabites, not far from *Heſebon*, "to the *Asphaltick* pool," the *Dead Sea*, (ſo called from the *Asphaltus*, or bitumen, abounding in it) the boundary of the Moabites to the weſt. The Iſraelites worſhipped this god in *Sittim*, and committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab; for which there died of the plague twenty and four thouſand, *Numb.* xxv. 9. His high places were adjoining to thoſe of *Moloch* on the mount of Olives, therefore here called "that *hill of ſcandal*," as before "that *obprobrious hill*;" for Solomon did alſo "build an high place for *Chemosh*," as well as for *Moloch*, *I. Kings* xi. 7: But *Joaſh* brake in pieces their images &c. *II. Kings* xxiii. 13, 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 417. ——— *luſt hard by hate*;] What a fine moral ſentiment has Milton here introduced and couched in half a verſe! He might perhaps have in view Spenser's *Maſk of Cupid*, where

Till good Jofiah drove them thence to Hell.  
With thefe came they, who, from the bordering  
flood

Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts 420  
Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names  
Of Baälim and Afhtaroth; thofe male,  
Thefe feminine: For Spirits, when they pleafe,

*Anger, Strife, &c.* are represented as immediately following *Cupid* in the proceffion. See *Faery. Qn.* iii. xii. THYER.

The poet's moral is exactly verified in the inceftuous and cruel conduct of Amnon towards Tamar, II. *Sam.* xiii. 15. "*Then Amnon hated her exceedingly; fo that the hatred, wherewith he hated her, was greater than the love, wherewith he had loved her.*" Milton's hemiftich is a fine commentary on the paffage.

Ver. 419. ——— from the bordering flood

*Of old Euphrates]* It is rightly called *old*, being mentioned by the oldeft hiftorian in the earlieft accounts of time, *Gen.* ii. 14. And it is called the *bordering flood*, being the utmoft limit or border Eaftward of the Promifed Land, according to *Gen.* xv. 18. NEWTON.

Ver. 420. ——— the brook that parts

*Egypt from Syrian ground,]* Moft probably the brook Befor, mentioned in Scripture, near Rhinocolura; which city is affigned fometimes to Syria, and fometimes to Egypt.

NEWTON.

Ver. 422. *Baälim and Afhtaroth,]* They are frequently named together in Scripture. They were the general names of the gods and goddeffes of Syria and Paleftine. They are fuppofed to mean the Sun and the hoft of heaven. NEWTON.

Ver. 423. *For Spirits, when they pleafe, &c.]* Dr. Newton is of opinion, that Milton borrowed thefe notions about Spirits, from Michael Pfellus's dialogue, published in Greek at Paris in 1615, concerning the *operations of Demons*: in which it is asserted, that they can affume either fex, and take what fhape and colour they pleafe, and contract or dilate themfelves at pleafure, as they are of an aery nature.

Can either sex assume, or both ; so soft  
 And uncompounded is their essence pure ; 425  
 Not tied or manacled with joint or limb,  
 Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,  
 Like cumbrous flesh ; but, in what shape they  
 choose

Dilated or condens'd, bright or obscure,  
 Can execute their aery purposes, 430  
 And works of love or enmity fulfil.  
 For those the race of Israel oft forsook  
 Their living strength, and unfrequented left  
 His righteous altar, bowing lowly down  
 To bestial Gods ; for which their heads as low 435

It should be observed, that these operations are recounted in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, a book familiar to Milton. The whimsical notions of Pfellus are also opposed, in this book, by a host of grave confutations. See the chapter entitled, "*A digression of diuels, and how they cause melancholy.*"

It may be proper also to compare a passage in Wierus *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*, 1582, lib. i. cap. xiv, which affords a commentary both to Pfellus and to Milton: "Dæmones, licet sexu et propria lingua careant, corpus tamen illud aereum sibi concessum, pro arbitrio velut nubes vento flante, in varias formas mutant, contrahuntque, atque extendunt, quemadmodum lumbricis videtur accidere ob substantiam molliorem, ductuque facillimam: neque solùm magnitudine diversitas in eis accidit, verùm etiam figuras coloresque variant multiformes.—Sic tanquam vir apparet, et mox occurrit ut fœmina." This was communicated by Marcus to Michael Pfellus.

Pope has borrowed Milton's phrases on this subject, in his *Rape of the Lock*;

"For Spirits, freed from mortal laws, with ease  
 Assume what sexes and what shapes they please."

Bow'd down in battle, sunk before the spear  
 Of despicable foes. With these in troop  
 Came Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians call'd  
 Astarte, queen of Heaven, with crescent horns;  
 To whose bright image nightly by the moon 440  
 Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs;  
 In Sion also not unsung, where stood  
 Her temple on the offensive mountain, built  
 By that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,  
 Beguil'd by fair idolatresses, fell 445  
 To idols foul. Thammuz came next behind,

Ver. 437. ——— *With these in troop*

*Came Astoreth, &c.]* The goddesses of the Phœnicians, under which name the moon was adored. She is rightly said to *come in troop* with Ashtaro, as she was one of them; the moon with the stars. She is called *queen of heaven*, Jer. vii. 18, and *goddess of the Zidonians*, I. Kings xi. 5; as she was worshipped very much in *Zidon* or *Sidon*, a famous city of the Phœnicians. Solomon, who had many wives that were foreigners, was prevailed upon by them to introduce the worship of this goddess into Israel; and he built her temple on the mount of Olives, which, on account of this and other idols, is called the *mountain of corruption*, II. Kings xxiii. 13, as here, by the poet, the *offensive mountain*,

NEWTON.

Ver. 444. ——— *whose heart, though large,*] I. Kings iv. 29. "And God gave Solomon largeness of heart." Milton uses the expression "*large heart*," in *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 10. So, in his friend Henry More's *Song of the Soul*, 1642. Part 2d, p. 100.

——— "*Large hearts deride*

"This pent hypocrisie."

Ver. 446. *Thammuz*] He was the god of the Syrians, the same with *Adonis*; who was said to die every year and revive again. He was slain by a wild boar in *Lebanon*, from whence the

Whose annual wound in Lebanon allur'd  
 The Syrian damsels to lament his fate  
 In amorous ditties all a summer's day;  
 While smooth Adonis from his native rock 450  
 Ran purple to the sea, suppos'd with blood  
 Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale  
 Infected Sion's daughters with like heat;  
 Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch  
 Ezekiel saw, when, by the vision led, 455  
 His eye survey'd the dark idolatries  
 Of alienated Judah. Next came one

*river Adonis descends: And when this river began to be of a reddish hue, as it did at a certain season of the year, this was their signal for celebrating their feasts of Adonis; and the women made loud lamentations for him, supposing the river was discoloured with his blood. The like idolatrous rites were transferred to Jerusalem, where Ezekiel saw the women lamenting Thammuz, Ezek. viii. 13, 14. NEWTON.*

Ver. 447. *Whose annual wound &c.*] Ovid, *Met.* x. 726.

———— “repetitâque mortis imago

“*Annua plangoris peraget simulamina.*” HUME.

Ver. 456. ———— *the dark idolatries*] Ezekiel viii. 12.  
 “Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the  
 ancients of the house of Israel do *in the dark*, every man *in the*  
*chambers of his imagery?*”

Ver. 457. ———— *Next came one*

*Who mourn'd in earnest, &c.*] The lamentations  
 for Adonis were without reason; but there was real occasion for  
*Dagon's* mourning, when the ark of God was taken by the Philis-  
 tines, and being placed in the temple of *Dagon*, the next morn-  
 ing, “behold, *Dagon* was fallen upon his face to the ground be-  
 fore the ark of the Lord; and the head of *Dagon*, and both the  
*palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold,*” the *grunsel* or

Who mourn'd in earnest, when the captive ark  
 Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopt off  
 In his own temple, on the grunsel edge, 460  
 Where he fell flat, and sham'd his worshippers:  
 Dagon his name, sea-monster, upward man  
 And downward fish: yet had his temple high  
 Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coast  
 Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon, 465  
 And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.  
 Him follow'd Rimmon, whose delightful seat  
 Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks  
 Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.  
 He also against the house of God was bold: 470  
 A leper once he lost, and gain'd a king;  
 Ahaz his sottish conquerour, whom he drew  
 God's altar to disparage, and displace,

*grunsel edge*, the edge of the *foot-post* of his temple-gate, I. Sam. v. 4. NEWTON.

Ver. 467. *Him follow'd Rimmon*,] *Rimmon* was a god of the Syrians. He had a temple at *Damascus*, the most celebrated city of Syria, on the banks of *Abbana* and *Pharphar*, II. Kings v. 12, 18. NEWTON.

Ver. 471. *A leper once he lost*,] Naaman the Syrian, who was cured of his leprosy by Elisha, and who, for that reason, resolved thenceforth to offer "neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice to any other God, but unto the Lord," II. Kings v. 17. "And gained a king," Ahaz, his sottish conquerour, who, with the assistance of the king of Assyria, having taken *Damascus*, saw there an altar, of which he sent a pattern to Jerusalem to have another made by it; upon which he sacrificed, after his return to Jerusalem, and thenceforth gave himself up to idolatry, II. Kings xvi. 10, II. Chron. xxviii. 23. NEWTON.

For one of Syian mode, whereon to burn  
 His odious offerings, and adore the Gods 475  
 Whom he had vanquish'd. After these appear'd  
 A crew, who, under names of old renown,  
 Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train,  
 With monstrous shapes and forceries abus'd  
 Fanatick Egypt and her priests, to seek 480  
 Their wandering Gods disguis'd in brutish forms  
 Rather than human. Nor did Israel 'scape

Ver. 478. *Osiris, Isis,*] Deities of the Egyptians, by which it is most probable they originally meant the sun and moon.

NEWTON.

See Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* v. vii. 4.

———— “ *Isis* doth the *moon* portend,  
 “ Like as *Ogyris* signifies the *sun*.” BOWLE.

Ibid. ——— *Orus, and their train,* &c.] *Orus* was the son of *Osiris* and *Isis*. These, and the other gods of the Egyptians, were worshipped in “ *monstrous shapes*,” bulls, cats, dogs, &c.; and the reason alledged for this worship is derived from the fabulous tradition, that, when the giants invaded Heaven, the gods were so affrighted that they fled into Egypt, and there concealed themselves in the shapes of various animals; and the Egyptians afterwards out of gratitude worshipped the creatures, whose shapes the gods had assumed, *Ovid, Met.* v. 419, &c. Milton therefore calls them “ *wandering gods disguis'd in brutish forms* rather than human.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 482. ——— *Nor did Israel 'scape*

*The infection,* &c.] The Israelites, by dwelling so long in Egypt, were infected with the superstitions of the Egyptians; and probably made the golden calf in imitation of that which represented *Osiris*, and out of the golden ear-rings which it is most likely they borrowed of the Egyptians, *Exod.* xii. 35, “ And the *rebel* king,” *Jeroboam*, made king by the Israelites who rebelled against Rehoboam, *I. Kings* xii. “ *doubled that sin*,”

The infection, when their borrow'd gold compos'd  
 The calf in Oreb; and the rebel king  
 Doubled that sin in Bethel and in Dan, 485  
 Likening his Maker to the grazed ox;  
 Jehovah, who in one night, when he pass'd  
 From Egypt marching, equall'd with one stroke  
 Both her first-born and all her bleating Gods.  
 Belial came last, than whom a Spirit more lewd 490

by making two golden calves, probably in imitation of the Egyptians with whom he had conversed, who had a couple of oxen which they worshipped, one at Memphis the metropolis of Upper Egypt, and the other at Hierapolis the chief city of Lower Egypt; and he set them up "in Bethel and in Dan," the two extremities of the kingdom of Israel: "*Likening his Maker to the grazed ox*," alluding to *Psalms* cvi. 20. NEWTON.

Ver. 487. — *who, in one night when he pass'd*

*From Egypt marching, equall'd with one stroke*

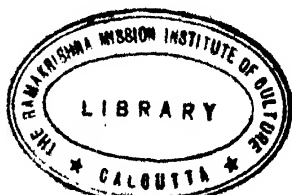
*Both her first-born and all her bleating gods.]*" See

*Exod.* xii. 12, and *Numb.* xxxiii. 3, 4. And Milton means all her gods in general, though he says "*bleating gods*" in particular; borrowing the metaphor from *sheep*, (which R. Iarchi, upon *Gen.* xlv. 34, says the Egyptians worshipped as gods,) and using it for the cry of any sort of beasts: Of he might make use of the epithet as one of the most insignificant and contemptible, with the same air of disdain as Virgil says, *Æn.* viii. 698,

"*Omnigenūmque deūm monstra, et latrator Anubis.*"

NEWTON.

Ver. 490. *Belial came last, &c.]* *Moloch* and *Belial* are very properly made the first and the last in this catalogue; as they both make so great a figure afterwards in the Poem: *Moloch* the first, as he was "the fiercest spirit," B. ii. 44; and *Belial* the last, as he was the most "timorous and slothful," B. ii. 117. It does not appear that he was ever worshipped; but lewd, profligate fellows, such as regard neither God nor man, are called in Scripture "*the children of Belial*," *Deut.* xiii. 13. See also *I. Sam.* ii. 12, and





Fell not from Heaven, or more grofs to love  
 Vice for itfelf: to him no temple flood  
 Or altar fmok'd; yet who more oft than he  
 In temples and at altars, when the priest  
 Turns atheift, as did Eli's fons, who fill'd 495  
 With luft and violence the houfe of God?  
 In courts and palaces he alfo reigns,  
 And in luxurious cities, where the noife  
 Of riot afcends above their loftieft towers,  
 And injury and outrage: and when night 500  
 Darkens the ftreets, then wander forth the fons  
 Of Belial, flown with infolence and wine.  
 Witnefs the ftreets of Sodom, and that night  
 In Gibeah, when the hofpitable door

*Judges* xix, which are the particular instances here given by Milton. NEWTON.

Ver. 502. — flown *with infolence and wine.*] *Blown* has been propofed, by a namelefs critick, for *flown*, according to doctör Newton; as there is in Virgil, "*Inflatuſ laccho,*" *Ec.* vi. 15. And Mr. Warton reads *ſwolln*: See his note on *Comus*, v. 178. But *flown* is the true reading, and fignifies *ſluſhed*, like the Greek οἰνόφλυξ, *ſluſhed with wine*: So *Deut.* xxi. 20, συμφοροποιῶν ΟΙΝΟΦΑΤΤΕΙ, Septuagint: that is, "he is a giutton and a drunkard."

Ver. 504. — when the hofpitable door

Expos'd a matron to avoid worſe rape.] In the firſt edition thus,

—— "when hofpitable doors

"Yielded their matrons to prevent worſe rape."

Milton did well in altering the paſſage; for it was not true of *Sodom*, that any *matron* was yielded there; ſee *Gen.* xix. 8: And, as the women were only offered, not accepted, it is not proper to ſay that they were *yielded*. But obſerve that Milton, in the ſecond

Expos'd a matron, to avoid worse rape. 505  
 These were the prime in order and in might;  
 The rest were long to tell, though far renown'd,  
 The Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue; held  
 Gods, yet confess'd later than Heaven and Earth,  
 Their boasted parents: Titan, Heaven's first-  
                   born, 510  
 With his enormous brood, and birthright seiz'd  
 By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove,  
 His own and Rhea's son, like measure found;  
 So Jove usurping reign'd: these first in Crete

edition, changed *yielded* into *exposed*; because, in what was done at Gibeah, *Judges* xix. 25, the Levite's *wife* was not only *yielded*, but put out of doors, and *expos'd* to the men's lewdness.

PEARCE.

Ver. 506. *These were the prime*] Because these are the idols who are mentioned in the most ancient records, viz. by the sacred text. The Grecian and Roman deities are much later, as we have no account of them for several ages after Moses; wherefore Milton considers them as of an inferior order and degree: and it is known too that these Greek and Roman deities were derived from the Gods of this country. *Glasgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 508. *The Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue; &c.*] Javan, the fourth son of Japhet, is supposed to have settled in the south-west part of Asia Minor, about *Ionia*, which contains the radical letters of his name. His descendants were the *Ionians* and *Grecians*; and the principal of their Gods were *Heaven* and *Earth*; *Titan*, the father of the giants, was their eldest son, and his empire was seized by his younger brother *Saturn*, as Saturn's was by *Jupiter*. These were first known in the island *Crete*, now *Candia*, in which is mount *Ida*, where *Jupiter* is said to have been born; thence passed over into Greece, and resided on mount *Olympus* in Thessaly.

NEWTON.

And Ida known, thence on the snowy top 515  
 Of cold Olympus, rul'd the middle air,  
 Their highest Heaven; or on the Delphian cliff,  
 Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds  
 Of Dorick land; or who with Saturn old  
 Fled over Adria to the Hesperian fields, 520  
 And o'er the Celtick roam'd the utmost isles.

All these and more came flocking; but with  
 looks  
 Down-cast and damp; yet such wherein appear'd  
 Obscure some glimpse of joy, to have found their  
 chief  
 Not in despair, to have found themselves not lost  
 In loss itself; which on his countenance cast 526

Ver. 515. ——— *the snowy top*

*Of cold Olympus,*] So Homer calls it, *Iliad* i. 420,  
 "Ὀλυμπόν ἈΓΑΝΝΙΦΟΝ. Again, *Il.* xviii. 615. Οὐλύμπῳ ΝΙΦΟ-  
 ΕΝΤΟΣ. NEWTON.

Ver. 517. ——— *the Delphian cliff,*] A translation  
 of *Θισπιίπια Δελφὶς πύργος*, *Æd. Tyr.* 471. Every one knows this  
 to be the famous oracle of Apollo at Delphos; and *Dodona* to be  
 the oracle of Jupiter. *Glasgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 519. *Dorick land; &c.*] That is, Greece, *Doris* being  
 a part of Greece; *or fled over Adria*, the Adriatick, to the *Hespe-*  
*rian fields*, Italy; *and o'er the Celtick*, France and the other coun-  
 tries over-run by the Celtes. NEWTON.

Ver. 521. ——— *roam'd the utmost isles.*] Milton here means  
 the idols which we had from the continent. Our Saxon ancestors,  
 coming over into England, while they were yet Pagans, brought  
 over the worship of their idols with them. The *utmost isles* mean  
 Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent islands, which by the Ancients  
 were thought the utmost boundaries of the world. *Glasgow edit.*  
 1750.

Like doubtful huc: but he, his wonted pride  
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore  
Semblance of worth, not substance, gently rais'd  
Their fainting courage, and dispell'd their fears.  
Then straight commands, that at the warlike  
found

Of trumpets loud and clarions be uprear'd  
His mighty standard: that proud honour claim'd  
Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall ; 534  
Who forthwith from the glittering staff unfurl'd  
The imperial ensign; which, full high advanc'd,  
Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind,

Ver. 529. *Semblance of worth, not substance,*] Spenser, *Faer.*  
*Qn.* ii. ix. 2.

“ Full lively is the *semblaunt*, though the *substance* dead.”

THYER.

Ver. 530. *Their fainting courage,*] In the first edition it is, " *Their fainted courage;*" which Dr. Newton suspects to be an error of the press: Mr. Lofft, in his edition of this Book in 1792, has, however, followed the first edition, which he thinks the best reading.

Ver. 534. *Azazel*] Dr. Spenser shows that this name is used for some demon or devil by several ancient authors, Jewish and Christian; and derives it from two Hebrew words, *Az* and *Azel*, signifying *brave in retreating*; a proper appellation for the standard-bearer to the fallen angels. We see, Milton gives *Azazel* a *right* to be standard-bearer on account of his stature: He had no notion of a dapper ensign who can hardly carry his colours.

NEWTON.

Ver. 537. *Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind,*] This brilliant expression, applied to the *beard* and *hair* of the *Welsh Bard* by Gray, has been deemed rather ludicrous :

“Loofe his beard and hoary hair

"Stream'd like a meteor to the troubled air."

With gems and golden lustre rich imblaz'd,  
 Seraphick arms and trophies ; all the while  
 Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds : 540  
 At which the universal host up-fent  
 A shout, that tore Hell's concave, and beyond  
 Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.  
 All in a moment through the gloom were seen  
 Ten thousand banners rise into the air 545  
 With orient colours waving : with them rose

Yet Gray may be defended by a passage in the Persian Tales of Inatulla, vol. ii. p. 41. " The circumference of his snowy beard, like the streaming rays of a meteor, appeared."

Ver. 543. *Frighted the reign of Chaos*] *Reign* is used, like the Latin *regnum*, for *kingdom*. So Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* ii. vii. 21.

" That streight did lead to Plutoes griefly rayne."

NEWTON.

Ver. 545. *Ten thousand banners rise into the air &c.*] See Tasso's description of the Christian and Pagan armies preparing to engage, *Gier. Lib.* c. xx. st. 28, 29. THYER.

See also the *Adamo* of Andreini, where Satan is describing the exultation of the devils at the fall of man, A. iii. S. iv. ed. 1617.

p. 79.

" Ecco di nouo ventilar ne l' aura

" Gl' infernali vessilli,

" Ecco i suoni festanti,

" Ecco le voci tante

" Che inalzandosi al ciel gridan Vittoria."

Ver. 546. *With orient colours waving :*] So, in *Comus*, v. 65,

" His orient liquour in a crystal glafs :"

Where Mr. Warton observes, that *orient* means *richly bright* from the radiance of the *East* ; that it was a very common description of *colour*, and had long ago become literal even in the plainest

A forest huge of spears ; and thronging helms  
 Appar'd, and ferried shields in thick array  
 Of depth immeasurable : anon they move  
 In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood 550

prose ; and that, in old agreements of glass-painters for churches, they bargain to execute their work in *orient colours*.

Petrarch's phrase may be here added, *Sonet. 166, parte prima,*

“ Di cinque pertte *oriental colore*.”

See also notes, B. iii. 507, B. iv. 238, and B. vi. 524.

Ver. 547. *A forest huge of spears ;*] Tasso, *Gier. Lib. c. viii. ft. 17.*

“ E intorno *un bosco* habbian d' *hafte*.”

The expression has been adopted also in 'Εκὼν Βασίλειῳ Διοτίμα, 1694. 8vo. chap. vii. p. 25. *On his Majesty's Defeat at Worcester.* “ The other day I was at the head of a gallant army, and now there's not a man dare be seen to follow me : I was lately guarded by a *forest of spears*, and now am glad to sculk in a forest of trees.”

Ver. 548. ——— and ferried shields] *Locked me within another, linked and clasped together*, from the French *ferrer*, to lock, to shut close. HUME.

Or from the Italian *ferrare*, which admits the same meaning.

Ver. 550. ——— to the Dorian mood

*Of flutes and soft recorders ;*] Milton, in his *Areopagitica*, uses *grave* and *Doric* almost as synonymous terms. “ No musick must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is *grave* and *Doric*.” This therefore was the measure best adapted to the fallen Angels at this juncture : And their instruments were *flutes and soft recorders*, for the same reason that Thucydides and other ancient historians assign for the Lacedæmonians making use of these instruments ; because they inspired them with a more cool and deliberate courage, whereas trumpets and other martial musick incited and inflamed them more to rage. See Aulus Gellius, lib. i. cap. 11, and Thucyd. lib. v. NEWTON.

Of flutes and soft recorders ; such as rais'd  
To highth of noblest temper heroes old  
Arming to battle ; and instead of rage  
Deliberate valour breath'd, firm and unmov'd  
With dread of death to flight or foul retreat ; 555  
Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage  
With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and  
chafe  
Anguish, and doubt, and fear, and sorrow, and  
pain,  
From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they,  
Breathing united force, with fixed thought, 560  
Mov'd on in silence to soft pipes, that charm'd  
Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil : and now  
Advanc'd in view they stand ; a horrid front  
Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise  
Of warriors old with order'd spear and shield ; 565  
Awaiting what command their mighty Chief

Hence is to be observed the exactness of Milton's judgement in appropriating the several instruments to the several purposes which they were to serve, and the different effects which they produced. Thus, when *a doubtful hue was cast* upon the countenance of Satan and his associates, and they were but little above despair ; in order to *raise their fainting courage and dispel their fears*, he commanded his standard to be upreared *at the warlike sound of trumpets and clarions* ; which immediately inspired them with such a flow of spirits, that they are represented sending up *a shout that tore Hell's concave*. But, when this ardour was once blown up, and they were to move in perfect phalanx, then the instruments are changed for *flutes and recorders to the Dorian mood*, which compos'd them into a more cool and deliberate valour, so that they marched on with *silence* and resolution: GREENWOOD.

Had to impose : He through the armed files  
 Darts his experienc'd eye, and soon traverse  
 The whole battalion views ; their order due ;  
 Their visages and stature as of Gods ; 570  
 Their number last he sums. And now his heart  
 Distends with pride, and hardening in his strength  
 Glories : for never, since created man,  
 Met such imbodied force, as nam'd with these  
 Could merit more than that small infantry 575  
 Warr'd on by cranes ; though all the giant brood  
 Of Phlegra with the heroick race were join'd  
 That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side  
 Mix'd with auxiliar Gods ; and what refounds

Ver. 567. ——— *He through the armed files  
 Darts his experienc'd eye,*] Pope, *Iliad* iv. 235.

“ Through the thick files he darts his searching eyes.”

And Satan's summing the number of his troops, is no less obviously imitated by Addison in his *Campaign* ;

——— “ When his thick embattled host he views  
 “ Stretch'd out in deep array, and dreadful length,  
 “ His heart dilates, and glories in his strength.”

Ver. 571. ——— *And now his heart, &c.*] *Dan.* v. 20.  
 “ His heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride.”

GILLIES.

Ver. 575. ——— *that small infantry*

*Warr'd on by cranes ;*] All the heroes and armies, that ever were assembled, were no more than pygmies in comparison with these Angels. NEWTON.

Ver. 579. *Mix'd with auxiliar gods ;*] In the war between the sons of Œdipus at Thebes, and between the Greeks and Trojans at Ilium, the heroes were assisted by the gods, who are therefore called “ *auxiliar gods.*” NEWTON.



In fable or romance of Uther's son 580  
 Begirt with British and Armorick knights ;  
 And all who since, baptiz'd or infidel,  
 Jousted in Aspramont, or Montalban,

Ver. 579. ————— and what resounds

*In fable or romance of Uther's son]* *King Arthur*, whose exploits Milton once intended to celebrate in an epick poem. Of his achievements in *Armorica* (now called Bretagne), as well as in England, the old legends are full. "*In fable*," here perhaps particularly alludes to Geoffry of Monmouth's account of Arthur, which Milton, in his *Hist. of England*, calls "that *fabulous* book." The old French "*romance*" of *Morte Arthur* was here also remembered. The names of places, which follow, are written as they are in romances; and these places were famous for *joustings*, or single combats, between the Saracens and Christians, who are thus distinguished by the writers of romance. Thus Boiardo, *Orl. Innam.* l. 1. c. 1. st. 30.

"E fia chi vuol Christiano, o Saracino."

And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxx. st. 40.

"Macomettani, e genti di battefmo."

In the story of Charlemain, Milton follows the fabulous relation of the Spanish writers, by saying that the emperor and his twelve peers "*fell at Fontarabbia*:" He sustained indeed, in returning home over the Pyrenean mountains, a partial defeat by the Duke of Gascony; but, according to the best French historians, he died in peace, many years after.

Dr. Newton here observes, "It is much to be wished that our poet had not so far indulged his taste for romances, of which he professes himself to have been fond in his younger years; and had not been ostentatious of such reading, as perhaps had better never have been read." I differ, with submission, from this remark. Milton's imagination, naturally sublime, was *enlarged*, as Fenton has observed, by reading of romances. And hence his poetry often unites, with his own unborrowed imagery, the striking embellishments and graces of romantick fiction.

Damafco, or Marocco, or Trebifond,  
 Or whom Biferta fent from Africk shore, 585  
 When Charlemain with all his peerage fell  
 By Fontarabbia. Thus far thefe beyond  
 Compare of mortal prowefs, yet observ'd  
 Their dread Commander: he, above the reft  
 In fhape and gefture proudly eminent, 590  
 Stood like a tower: his form had yet not loft  
 All her original brightnefs; nor appear'd  
 Lefs than Arch-Angel ruin'd, and the excefs  
 Of glory obfcure'd: as when the fun, new rifen,  
 Looks through the horizontal mifty air 595  
 Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon,

Ver. 589. ——— *he, above the reft &c.*] The greateft mafters in painting had not fuch fublime ideas as Milton; and, among all their devils, have drawn no portrait comparable to this; as every body muft allow who has feen the pictures or the prints of *Michael and the Devil* by Raphael; and of *the fame* by Guido; and of *the Laft Judgement* by Michael Angelo.

NEWTON.

And in what does this *poetical picture* confift? in images of a tower; an archangel; the fun rifing through mifts, or in an eclipse; the ruin of monarchs; and the revolutions of kingdoms. The mind is hurried out of itfelf, by a crowd of great and confufed images; which affect, becaufe they are crowded and confufed. For, feparate them, and you loofe much of the greatnefs; and join them, and you infallibly lofe the clearnefs. BURKE.

Ver. 594. ——— *as when the fun, &c.*] Spenfer has a defcription of the fun fimilar to this, *Fær. Qu. i. v. 2.*

—— “ Phœbus frefh, as bridegroome to his mate,  
 “ Came dauncing forth, fhaking his deawie haire;  
 “ And hurles his gliftring beames through gloomy airc.”

BOWLE.

In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds  
 On half the nations, and with fear of change  
 Perplexes monarchs. Darken'd so, yet shone  
 Above them all the Arch-Angel: but his face 600  
 Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd; and care  
 Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows  
 Of dauntless courage, and confederate pride  
 Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast  
 Signs of remorse and passion, to behold 605  
 The fellows of his crime, the followers rather,  
 (Far other once beheld in bliss) condemn'd  
 For ever now to have their lot in pain;  
 Millions of Spirits for his fault amerc'd  
 Of Heaven, and from eternal splendours flung 610  
 For his revolt, yet faithful how they stood,

Ver. 601. *Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd*] Had cut into, had made trenches in his face; from the French *trencher*. So Shakspeare, speaking of a *fear*, in *All's Well that ends well*, "It was this very sword *intrench'd* it." NEWTON.

Ver. 602. *Sat on his faded cheek,*] From this painting Gray perhaps, in his *Bard*, drew "Sorrow's *faded* form," v. 62.

Ver. 609. ———— *for his fault amerc'd*  
*Of Heaven,*] *Amerc'd* has here a strange affinity with the Greek ἀμείρω, to *deprive*, to *take away*; as Homer has used it much to our purpose, *Odyss.* viii. 54,

Ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ΑΜΕΡΕΕ, δίδου δ' ἡδύαν αἰσῶν,

"The Muse *amerc'd* him of his eyes, but gave him the faculty of singing sweetly." HUMPH.

Ver. 611. ———— *yet faithful how they stood,*] To see the true construction of this, we must go back to ver. 605 for the verb. The sense then is this, to *behold* the fellows of his crime condemn'd &c. yet how they stood faithful. RICHARDSON.

Their glory wither'd : as when Heaven's fire  
 Hath scath'd the forest oaks, or mountain pines,  
 With singed top their stately growth, though bare,  
 Stands on the blasted heath. He now prepar'd 615  
 To speak ; whereat their doubled ranks they bend  
 From wing to wing, and half enclose him round  
 With all his peers : Attention held them mute.  
 Thrice he assay'd, and thrice, in spite of scorn,  
 Tears, such as Angels weep, burst forth : at last

Ver. 612. ————— as when Heaven's fire

*Hath scath'd &c.*] *Hath hurt, hath damaged* ; a word frequently used in Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, and our old writers. This is a very beautiful and close simile ; it represents the majestic stature, and withered glory, of the Angels ; and the last with great propriety, since their lustre was impaired by thunder, as well as that of the trees in the simile : and besides, the blasted heath gives us some idea of that singed burning soil, on which the Angels were standing. Homer and Virgil frequently use comparisons from trees, to express the stature or falling of a hero, but none of them are applied with such variety and propriety of circumstances as this of Milton. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 24. NEWTON.

Their *stately growth, though bare*, will remind the reader of an elegant simile in Lucan, *Pharsal.* i. 136.

“ Qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro,  
 “ Exuvias veteres populi, sacratæque gestans  
 “ Dona ducum, nec jam validis radicibus hærens,  
 “ Pondere fixa suo est, nudosque per æra ramos  
 “ Effundens, trunco, non frondibus, efficit umbram.”

Ver. 619. *Thrice he assay'd, and thrice* —————

*Tears burst forth :*] He had Ovid in his thought,  
*Met.* xi. 419.

“ Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora rigavit.” BENTLEY,

Words, interwove with sighs, found out their  
way. 621

O Myriads of immortal Spirits, O Powers  
Matchless, but with the Almighty; and that strife  
Was not inglorious, though the event was dire,  
As this place testifies, and this dire change 625  
Hateful to utter: but what power of mind,  
Foreseeing or presaging, from the depth  
Of knowledge past or present, could have fear'd,  
How such united force of Gods, how such  
As stood like these, could ever know repulse? 630  
For who can yet believe, though after loss,  
That all these puissant legions, whose exile  
Hath emptied Heaven, shall fail to re-ascend

The turn of the words bears a near resemblance to Spenser,  
*Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 41.

"Thrice he assaid it from his foote to draw,

"And thrice in vain to draw it did assay:"

As also to Sackville, Induction *Mir. for Magistrates*, st. last,

"Thryse he began to tell his dolefull tale,

"And thryse the sighs did swallow up his voyce."

BOWLER.

Ver. 623. ————— and that strife

Was not inglorious,] Ovid, *Met.* ix. 6.

—————"nec tam

"Turpe fuit vinci, quam contendisse decorum est."

NEWTON.

Ver. 633. *Hath emptied Heaven,*] It is conceived, that a  
third part of the Angels fell with Satan, according to *Rev.* xii. 4.  
"And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and  
cast them to the earth:" And this opinion Milton has again ex-

Self-rais'd, and repoffess their native feat?  
 For me, be witnefs all the hoft of Heaven, 635  
 If counfels different, or dangers fhunn'd  
 By me, have loft our hopes. But he, who reigns  
 Monarch in Heaven, till then as one fecure  
 Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,  
 Confent or custom; and his regal ftate 640  
 Put forth at full, but ftill his ftrength conceal'd,  
 Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our  
 fall.

Henceforth his might we know, and know our  
 own;

So as not either to provoke, or dread  
 New war, provok'd: our better part remains 645  
 To work in clofe design, by fraud or guile,  
 What force effected not: that he no lefs  
 At length from us may find, who overcomes  
 By force, hath overcome but half his foe. 649  
 Space may produce new worlds; whereof fo rife  
 There went a fame in Heaven that he ere long  
 Intended to create, and therein plant  
 A generation, whom his choice regard

preffed, B. ii. 692, B. v. 710, B. vi. 156. But Satan here talks big, and magnifies their number, as if their "exile had emptied Heaven." NEWTON.

Ver. 642. *Which tempted our attempt,*] The jingle of the times:

So Sylvefter, *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621. p. 827.

"Shee dar'd, and did attempt to tempt mee too;

"But God forbid, &c."

Should favour equal to the sons of Heaven:  
 Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps 655  
 Our first eruption; thither or elsewhere:  
 For this infernal pit shall never hold  
 Celestial Spirits in bondage, nor the abyss  
 Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts  
 Full counsel must mature: Peace is despair'd; 660  
 For who can think submission? War then, War,  
 Open or understood, must be resolv'd.

He spake: and, to confirm his words, out-flew  
 Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the  
 thighs  
 Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze • 665  
 Far round illumin'd Hell: Highly they rag'd

Ver. 664. *Millions of flaming swords,*] Compare Tasso,  
*Gier. Lib. c. v. st. 28.*

“ Quasi in quel punto mille spade ardenti  
 “ Furon vedute fiammeggiar insieme.”

And Silius Italicus, *L. i. v. 500.*

“ Mille simul dextræ, densisque micare videtur  
 “ Ensis.” BOWLE.

Ibid. ——— *drawn from the thighs*] It may be observed  
 here, that Milton, to keep up the dignity of language, has pur-  
 posely avoided the trite phrase *drawn from the sides*, and adopted the  
 Greek way of expressing it. Thus Homer, *Il. i. 194.*

Ἡ οὖν φαίγαντο ἑξὺ ἱπποδάμους, παρὰ μηρῶ. THYER.

Ver. 665. ——— *the sudden blaze*

*Far round illumin'd*] “ Traité l'espee hors de  
 fourreaux qui jettoit moult grand clairte.” Huon de Bourdeaux,  
 303. BOWLE.

Against the Higheft, and fierce with grasped arms  
Clafh'd on their founding fhields the din of war,  
Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.

There stood a hill not far, whose grisly top 670  
Belch'd fire and rolling fmoke; the reft entire  
Shone with a glossy fcurf; undoubted fign  
That in his womb was hid metallick ore,

Ver. 667. ——— and fierce with grasped arms  
Clafh'd on their founding fhields the din of war,  
Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.]

*Grasped*, joined to *arms*, determines the expreffion to mean *swords* only, which were fpoken of a little before, v. 664. PEARCE.

The known cuftom of the Roman foldiers, when they applauded a fpeech of their general, was to *fmite their fhields with their fwords*.

BENTLEY.

Milton here imitates both Spenser and Shakfpeare: *Faer. Qu.*  
i. iv. 40.

“ Therewith they gan to hurlen greedily,  
“ Redoubted battaile ready to darraine,  
“ And clafh their fhields, and shake their fwords on high.”

*Julius Cefar*, A. v. S. i.

“ Defiance, traitors, hurt we in your teeth.” UPTON.

Ver. 669. ——— toward the vault of Heaven.] So Spenser,  
in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*,

“ Whatfo the Heaven in his wide vault contains.”

Milton again ufes the word *vault* by a fimilar figure, B. iv. 821.

“ Now had Night meaur'd, with her shadowy cone,  
“ Half way up hill this vault fublunar vault.”

The fame image is beautifully ufed by Buchanan, *Pfalm* xix. 2.

“ Qui templa Olympi fornice flammeo  
“ Sufpendit—” *Glasgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 673. *That in his womb was hid*] *Womb* is here ufed in



*The work of sulphur. Thither, wing'd with  
speed,*

A numerous brigade hasten'd: as when bands 675  
Of pioneers, with spade and pickax arm'd,  
Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,  
Or cast a rampart. Mammon led them on;  
Mammon, the least erected Spirit that fell  
From Heaven; for e'en in Heaven his looks and  
thoughts 680

Were always downward bent, admiring more  
The riches of Heaven's pavement, trodden gold,

as large a sense as the Latin *uterus*, which Virgil applies to a stag,  
*Æn.* vii. 490.

“ *Ille manum patiens, mensæque assuetus herili,*”

but afterwards Ascanius wounds him, v. 499.

“ *Pérque uterum fonitu, pérque ilia venit arundo.*”

Virgil uses the same word, in speaking of a wolf, *Æn.* xi. 813.

NEWTON.

Ver. 678. *Mammon*] This name is Syriack, and signifies  
*riches*. “Ye cannot serve God and *Mammon*,” *Mat.* vi. 24.  
*Mammon* is by some supposed to be the *god of riches*; and is ac-  
cordingly personified by Milton, and had been before by Spen-  
ser; whose description of *Mammon* and his cave Milton seems to have  
had his eye upon in several places. NEWTON.

Ver. 682. *The riches of Heaven's pavement,*] So Homer, of  
Heaven's pavement, *Il.* iv. 2, χρυσίον ἐν δαμίδῳ. “And St.  
John, of the heavenly Jerusalem, *Rev.* xxi. 21. “And the *street*  
of the city is *pure gold*.” NEWTON.

Dr. Gillies well observes, that *Mammon* could not have this  
fordid disposition of admiring *the gold of the street*, rather than the  
blessed vision of God, before he sinned. What is said of him,  
therefore, from v. 679 to v. 684, though expressed in general

Than aught, divine or holy, else enjoy'd  
 In vision beatifick : by him first  
 Men also, and by his suggestion taught, 68;  
 Ransack'd the center, and with impious hands  
 Rifled the bowels of their mother Earth

terms, must be understood only of the time he remained in Heaven after he joined Satan.

Ver. 684. ————— by him first

*Men also, and by his suggestion taught,*] Dr. Bentley says, the poet assigns as *two* causes *him* and *his suggestion*, which are one and the same thing. This observation has the appearance of accuracy. But Milton is exact, and alludes in a beautiful manner to a superstitious opinion, generally believed amongst the miners : That there are a sort of Devils which converse much in minerals, where they are frequently seen to busy and employ themselves in all the operations of the workmen ; they will dig, cleanse, melt, and separate the metals. See *G. Agricola de Animalibus subterraneis*. So that Milton prophetically supposes Mammon and his clan to have taught the sons of earth by example and practical instruction, as well as precept and mental suggestion.

WARBURTON.

Notwithstanding all the appearance of accuracy, Dr. Bentley's observation is a hypercritical mistake. "*Him and his suggestion*," mean, indeed, *one and the same thing* ; but are not assigned by the Poet as *two causes*, but as *one* only. We have the like expressions commonly in prose ; "It was *you and your persuasion* that made me do so or so : " "It was *he and his example* which influenced others." And we meet with a passage in Book xi. 261. very like this :

" To these that sober race of men, whose lives  
 " Religious titled them the sons of God,  
 " Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame  
 " Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles  
 " Of these fair atheists." EDWARDS.

Ver. 687. *Rifled the bowels of their mother Earth*] Ovid,  
*Met. i. 138.*



For treasures, better hid. Soon had his crew  
 Open'd into the hill a spacious wound,  
 And digg'd out ribs of gold. Let none admire 690  
 That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best  
 Deserve the precious bane. And here let those,  
 Who boast in mortal things, and wondering tell  
 Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,  
 Learn how their greatest monuments of fame, 695  
 And strength and art, are easily out-done  
 By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour  
 What in an age they with incessant toil  
 And hands innumerable scarce perform.  
 Nigh on the plain, in many cells prepar'd, 700  
 That underneath had veins of liquid fire  
 Sluc'd from the lake, a second multitude

————— “Itum est in viscera terræ,  
 “Quasque recondiderat, Stygiisque admoverat umbris,  
 “Effodiuntur opes.” HUME.

Ver. 688. *For treasures, better hid.*] Hor. Od. III. iii. 49.

“Aurum irreperitum, et sic melius situm.” NEWTON.

Ver. 695. *Learn how their greatest monuments of fame,  
 And strength and art, &c.*] This passage has been  
 misunderstood by Dr. Bentley and others. *Strength and art* are  
 not to be construed in the genitive case with *fame*, but in the no-  
 minative with *monuments*. And then the meaning is plainly thus,  
*Learn how their greatest monuments of fame, and how their strength  
 and art, are easily outdone &c.* NEWTON.

Ver. 699. *And bands innumerable*] There were 360,000  
 men employed for near twenty years upon one of the Pyramids,  
 according to Diodorus Siculus, Lib. i. and Pliny, Lib. 36. c. 12.

NEWTON.

Ver. 702. ——— founded *the massy ore,*] So the first edition

With wonderous art founded the maffy ore,  
Severing each kind, and fcumm'd the bullion  
drofs :

A third as foon had form'd within the ground 705  
A various mould, and from the boiling cells  
By ftrange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook ;  
As in an organ, from one blaft of wind,  
To many a row of pipes the found-board breathes.  
Anon, out of the earth, a fabrick huge 710  
Rose like an exhalation, with the found  
Of dulcet fymphonies and voices fweet,  
Built like a temple, where pilafters round

reads; but in the fucceeding editions, till Dr. Bentley's, it is  
*found out*. *Founded*, that is, *melted* the maffy ore.

Ver. 704. ——— *the bullion drofs*.] As one would fay,  
*gold-drofs*, or *silver-drofs*, the drofs which arofe from the melted  
metal in refining it. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 708. *As in an organ*, &c.] This fimile is as exact, as  
it is new. And we may obferve, that Milton frequently fetches  
his images from mufick, more than any other Englifh poet; as he  
was very fond of it, and was himfelf a performer upon the organ  
and other inftruments. NEWTON.

Ver. 711. *Rose like an exhalation*,] The fudden rifing of  
Pandemonium is fupposed, and with great probability, [by Peck]  
to be a hint taken from fome of the moving fcenes, and machines,  
invented for the ftage by the famous Inigo Jones. NEWTON.

Pope has adopted the imagery, *Temp. of Fame*, v. 91.

“ The growing towers, *like exhalations*, rife.”

Ver. 713. ——— *where pilafters round &c.*] Milton has  
been blamed for defcribing this ftructure with fuch an affectation of  
knowledge in the fcience of architecture: yet in the ufe of fome of  
thefe terms he is juftified by preceding poets. Thus Spenser, de-

Were fet, and Dorick pillars overlaid  
 With golden architrave; nor did there want 715  
 Cornice or freeze, with bossy sculptures graven:  
 The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon,  
 Nor great Alcairo, such magnificence  
 Equall'd in all their glories, to enshrine  
 Belus or Sérapis their Gods, or feat 720  
 Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove  
 In wealth and luxury. The ascending pile

scribing the bridge that leads to the temple of Venus, *Faer. Qn.*  
 iv. x. 6.

“ And, arched all with porches, did arise

“ On stately *pillars* fram'd after the *Doricke* guise.”

And Shakspeare, *Cymbeline*, A. ii. S. iv.

——— “ the *roof* o' the chamber

“ With *golden* cherubim is *fretted*.”

Again, *Hamlet*, A. ii. S. ii. “ This majestic *roof* *fretted* with  
*golden* fire.” So Pope, again from Milton, *Temp. of Fame*, v. 138.

“ Wide vaults appear, and *roofs* of *fretted* gold.”

Ver. 717. ——— *Not Babylon, &c.*] He had challenged  
*Babylon* and *Memphis*, v. 694; and now, as quite forgetful, he  
 reiterates it, *Babylon* and *Alcairo*: This latter the worse; because  
*Alcairo* is a modern name, and not fit to join with *Belus* or *Sera-*  
*pis*. BENTLEY.

Ver. 720. *Belus* or *Sérapis*] There are authorities, which  
 may serve to justify in Milton this departure from the classical ac-  
 cent upon the second syllable of *Sérapis*; for we read in Martianus  
 Capella,

“ Te *Serāpin* Nilus &c.”

And, in Prudentius,

“ *Iñs enim et Serāpin, &c.*”<sup>f</sup> PEARCE.

Stood fix'd her stately highth: and straight the  
doors,

Opening their brazen folds, discover, wide  
Within, her ample spaces, o'er the smooth 725  
And level pavement: from the arched roof  
Pendant by subtle magick many a row  
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets, fed

Ver. 723. *Stood fix'd her stately highth:*] This is a Greek construction. The meaning is, that the building stood firm along the whole of its height, or it stood now firm and complete in all its parts. *Glasgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 725. *Within,*] An adverb here, and not a preposition; and therefore Milton puts a comma after it, that it may not be joined in construction with her *ample spaces*. So Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 483.

“ Apparet domus intus, et atria longa patefcunt.”

NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *her ample spaces,*] A beautiful Latinism. So Seneca, describing the descent of Hercules into Hell, *Herc. Fur.* iii. 673.

“ Hinc ampla vacuis spatia laxantur locis.” THYER.

Ver. 728. ——— *and blazing cressets, fed*

*With Naphtha and Asphaltus,*] A *cresset* is any great blazing light, as a *beacon*. *Naphtha* is of so unctuous and fiery a nature, that it kindles at approaching the fire, or the sunbeams. *Asphaltus* or bitumen, another pitchy substance.

RICHARDSON.

Shakspeare also uses the word *cresset*, *Hen.* iv. Part i. A. iii. Glendower speaks:

————— “ At my nativity

“ The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,

“ Of burning *cressets*.” NEWTON.

The word is derived from the French *croisfette*, according to Sir Thomas Hanmer; because the *beacons*, anciently, had *crosses* on

With Naphtha and Asphaltus, yielded light  
 As from a sky. The hasty multitude 730  
 Admiring enter'd; and the work some praise,  
 And some the architect: his hand was known  
 In Heaven by many a tower'd structure high,  
 Where scepter'd Angels held their residence,  
 And sat as princes; whom the supreme King 735  
 Exalted to such power, and gave to rule,  
 Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.  
 Nor was his name unheard, or unador'd,

the top of them.—In Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 74, the stars are called "the heaven's bright *creffets*." In Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 1575, Shakspeare's combination occurs in the fourth book: "A *burning creffet* steep in blood." But there a *creffet* is a torch.

Ver. 737. *Hierarchy*,] This word signifies *sacred principality*: According to the writer of the book concerning the *celestial hierarchy*, falsely attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, the angelick world is divided into *three orders*. The first contains, Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones; the next order is made up of Dominations, (*Δυναμεις*) Princedoms, (*Κυριότητες*) Powers, (*ἰξῆσται*.) Under the third, and lowest order are ranged, Principalities, (*ἰερχαι*) Archangels, and Angels. It would seem evident, that Milton had some view to this arrangement, in his distinction of the orders of angels through all his work. Dionys. Areop. Περὶ ἑρην. ἱεραρχ. cap. vi. et vii. *Glasgow edit.* 1750.

See also note, B. v. 750. Dante, who was indebted to the preceding system of angels, makes respectful mention of Dionysius, in his *Paradiso*, c. x. 115.

Ver. 738. *Nor was his name unheard*,] Dr. Bentley says, "This is carelessly expressed. Why does he not tell his name in Greece, as well as his Latin name? and *Mulciber* was not so common a name as *Vulcan*." I think it is very exactly expressed. Milton is here speaking of a Devil exercising the *founder's* art:

In ancient Greece ; and in Aufonian land  
 Men call'd him Mulciber ; and how he fell 740  
 From Heaven, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove  
 Sheer o'er the crystal battlements : from morn  
 To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,  
 A summer's day ; and with the setting sun  
 Dropt from the zenith like a falling star, 745  
 On Lemnos the Ægean isle : thus they relate,

and says he was not unknown in Greece and Italy. The poet has his choice of three names to tell us what they called him in the classic world, *Hephestos*, *Vulcan*, and *Mulciber*, the last only of which designing the office of a *founder*, he has very judiciously chosen that. WARBURTON.

Ver. 740. ————— and how he fell

*From Heaven, &c.*] Alluding to Homer, *Iliad* i. 590, &c. It is worth observing how Milton lengthens out the time of Vulcan's fall. He not only says with Homer, that it was all day long, but we are led through the parts of the day, *from morn to noon, from noon to evening*, and this *a summer's day*. There is a similar passage in the *Odyssey*, where Ulysses describes his sleeping twenty-four hours together, and, to make the time seem the longer, divides it into several parts, and points them out distinctly to us, *Odys.* vii. 288.

Εὔδοι πανύχλιος, καὶ ἐπ' ἡῶ, καὶ μέσον ἡμᾶρ,  
 Δύσσι το τ' ἡέλιος, καὶ με γλαυκὸς ὕπνιος ἀνέκιν. NEWTON.

Ver. 742. *Sheer o'er the crystal battlements :*] "*The crystal battlements of heaven*," is a phrase in R. Niccols's "*England's Eliza*," *Mir. for Mag.* 1610, p. 835 ; as also, in the *Mirour*, p. 688.

Ver. 746. *On Lemnos, the Ægean isle :*] So he pronounces *Ægean* in *Par. Reg.* B. iv. 238. Fairfax led the way to this manner of pronouncing the word, or rather to this poetical liberty ; for, in his translation of *Tasso*, c. i. st. 60, he says,

" O'er Ægean seas, through many a Greekish hold."



Erring ; for he with this rebellious rout  
 Fell long before ; nor aught avail'd him now  
 To have built in Heaven high towers ; nor did  
 he 'scape

By all his engines, but was headlong sent 750  
 With his industrious crew, to build in Hell.

Mean while the winged heralds, by command  
 Of sovran power, with awful ceremony  
 And trumpet's sound, throughout the host pro-  
 claim

A solemn council, forthwith to be held 755  
 At Pandemonium ; the high capital

Again, c. xii. ft. 63.

" As *Ægean* seas, &c." PEARCE.

Ver. 748. ——— *nor aught avail'd him now* &c.] Homer,  
*Iliad* v. 53.

'Αλλ' ὃ οἱ τότε γὰρ χραῖσμι' Ἀφίμης ἰοχίαυρα,  
 Οὐδὲ ἰκνέομαι.

And Virgil, *Æn.* xi. 843.

" Nec tibi desertæ in dumis coluisse Dianam

" Profuit." NEWTON.

Ver. 750. *By all his engines,*] *Devices, contrivances;* as in  
 Fairfax's *Troffs*, B. v. ft. 15.

" 'Gainst him yet vain did all her *engins* prove." BOWLE.

Ver. 752. *Mean while the winged heralds,*] *Haralds*, in  
 Milton's own editions ; which he spells, 'according to Richardson,  
 from the Italian *araldo*. Yet *harold* and *barauld* often occur in  
 ancient English books. See Note on *Pericles*, Steevens's Shak-  
 speare, 1793, vol. xiii. p. 489.

Ver. 756. *At Pandemonium;*] Compare Henry More's *Song*  
*of the Soul*, 1642. Part 1st. p. 40.

Of Satan and his peers : their summons call'd  
 From every band and squared regiment  
 By place or choice the worthiest ; they anon,  
 With hundreds and with thousands, trooping  
                   came, 760  
 Attended : all access was throng'd ; the gates  
 And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall  
 (Though like a cover'd field, where champions  
                   bold  
 Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldan's chair  
 Defied the best of Panim chivalry 765  
 To mortal combat, or career with lance,)

“ On Ida hill there stands a castle strong ;  
 “ They, that it built, call it *Pantheothén* :  
 “ Hither resort a rascall rabble throng  
 “ Of miscreant wights : But if that wiser men  
 “ May name that fort, *Pandemoniathén*  
 “ They would it cleep.”——

There was a book, published soon after the restoration of K. Charles II, entitled “ *Pandemonium*,” the subject of which is witchcraft.

Ver. 763. *Though like a cover'd field,*] *The field for combat, the lists; Champ clos.* The hall of Pandemonium, one room only, is like a spacious field enclosed for martial exercises on horseback.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 764. ——— at the Soldan's chair] He alludes to those accounts of the single combats between the Saracens and Christians in Spain and Palestine, of which the old romances are full. *Glasgow edit.* 1750.

*Soldan* is an old English word, used for *Sultan*; probably from the Italian, *Soldano*, or, as Dante writes it, *Soldan*; Waller also employs it. And *Panim*, another word frequent both in our ancient poetry and prose, is here adopted instead of *Pagan*.

Ver. 766. *To mortal combat, or career with lance,]* Milton

Thick swarm'd, both on the ground and in the air  
 Brush'd with the hifs of rusling wings. As bees  
 In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides,  
 Pour forth their populous youth about the hive 770

has carefully distinguished the two different methods of combat in the *champ clos*. Sometimes these fights were only for sport, and to show their address. Upon these occasions the combatants made use of spears and swords, whose points were blunted beforehand. At other times these combats were used to decide differences between particular persons, who offered to fight, that the victory might show which was in the right. In this case, the death of one of the parties generally decided the question, and the victor was pronounced innocent. *Glasgow edit.* 1750.

Ver. 768. *As bees &c.*] An imitation of Homer, who compares the Grecians crowding, to a *swarm of bees*, Il. ii. 87. There are such similes also in Virgil, *Æn.* i. 430, *Æn.* vi. 707. But Milton carries the similitude farther than either of his great masters, and mentions the bees *conferring their state-affairs*, as he is going to give an account of the consultations of the devils.

NEWTON.

Ver. 769. *In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides,*] In April. Virgil, *Georg.* i. 217.

“Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum

“Taurus.” HUME.

Ibid. ——— *when the sun with Taurus rides,*] Dr. Bentley reads, “*in Taurus*,” and says, “Does Taurus ride too, a constellation fixed?” Yes, or else Ovid is wrong throughout his whole *Fæsti*, where he describes the rising and setting of the signs of the zodiack: See what he says of the rising of *Taurus*, v. 603. And Milton, in B. x. 663, speaking of the fixed stars, says, “*which of them rising with the sun or falling, &c.*” PEARCE.

Ver. 770. *Pour forth their populous youth about the hive*] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 21.

— “Quum prima novi ducent examina reges

“Vere suo, ludetque favis emissâ juventus.” HUME.

In cluſters: they among freſh dews and flowers  
 Fly to and fro, or on the ſmoothed plank,  
 The ſuburb of their ſtraw-built citadel,  
 New rubb'd with balm, expatiate and confer  
 Their ſtate affairs. So thick the aery croud 775  
 Swarm'd and were ſtraiten'd; till, the ſignal given,  
 Behold a wonder! They but now who ſeem'd  
 In bigneſs to ſurpaſs Earth's giant ſons,  
 Now leſs than ſmalleſt dwarfs, in narrow room  
 Throng numberleſs, like that pygmean race 780  
 Beyond the Indian mount; or faery elves,  
 Whoſe midnight revels, by a foreſt ſide  
 Or fountain, ſome belated peaſant ſees,  
 Or dreams he ſees, while over-head the moon  
 Sits arbitreſs, and nearer to the earth 785

Ver. 774. ——— expatiate] In its Latin ſenſe, ſignifying to *walk abroad*. So Virgil uſes it, *Æn.* iv. 62.

“ Aut ante ora Deûm, pingues ſpatiatnr ad aras.”

And Cícero, *Orat.* c. iii. “ Ut palæſtricè ſpatiari in Xyſto liceat.” *Glaſgow edit.* 1750.

Ver 783. ——— ſees,

Or dreams he ſees,] From Apollonius Rhodius, one of his favourite authors, *Argonaut.* iv. 1479.

——— ὥς τις τι νῦν ἐν ἡμαρὶ μῆνιν

Ἦ' ἸΔΕΝ, ἢ ἘΔΟΚΗΣΕΝ ἰπαρχλύεσθαι ἸΔΕΣΘΑΙ.

Virgil has copied the paſſage, *Æn.* vi. 453, 454.

Ver. 785. Sits arbitreſs,] *Wiſneſs, ſpectatreſs.* So Horace, *Epod.* v. 49.

“ O rebus meis

“ Non infideles arbitrae

“ Nox et Diana.” HEYLIN.

Wheels her pale courſe; they, on their mirth  
and dance

Intent, with jocund muſick charm his ear;  
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.  
Thus incorporeal Spirits to ſmalleſt forms  
Reduc'd their ſhapes impenſe, and were at large,  
Though without number ſtill, amidſt the hall 791  
Of that infernal court. But far within,  
And in their own dimensions, like themſelves,  
The great Seraphick Lords and Cherubim  
In cloſe receſs and ſecret conclave ſat; 795

Ibid. ——— *nearer to the earth*] This is ſaid in alluſion to the ſuperſtitious notion of witches and faeries having great power over the moon. Virgil, *Eclog.* viii. 69.

“Carmina vel cælo poſſunt deducere lunam.” NEWTON.

Ver. 786. ——— *they, on their mirth and dance*

*Intent, &c.*] There is a ſimilar night-ſcene in Horace, *Od.* i. iv. 5.

“Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus, imminente Luna;

“Junctæque Nymphis Gratia decentes

“Alverno terram quatunt pede.”

Ver. 790. ——— *and were at large,*] Though numberleſs, they had ſo contracted their dimensions, as to have room enough to be *au large*, French; *a largo*, Italian; and be yet in the hall. So, in B. xi. 626.

“Ere long to ſwim at large.” RICHARDSON.

Ver. 795. *In cloſe receſs and ſecret conclave ſat;*] It is not impoſſible that the poet might here allude to what is ſtrictly and properly called *the conclave*; for it is certain that he had not a much better opinion of the one than of the other of theſe aſſemblies.

NEWTON.

Dr. Newton means the *ball*, in which the Cardinals meet, after the death of a *Pope*, to chooſe a ſucceſſour: But, in a note on B. x.

A thousand Demi-gods on golden seats,  
Frequent and full. After short silence then,  
And summons read, the great consult began.

457, he observes that the Devils are frequently described by metaphors taken from the *Turks*; Satan being called the *Sultan*, and his council the *Diwan*: which council "is here said to fit in secret CONCLAVE; the *Devil*, the *Turk*, and the *Pope*, being commonly thought to be nearly related, and often joined together."

Without disputing the *triple alliance* thus asserted, I will adduce a passage, to which Milton perhaps adverted rather than immediately to *Turk* or *Pope*, from P. Fletcher's *Locusts*, 1627, p. 36.

" And now the *Infernal Powers*, through the ayer driving,  
" For speed their leather pincons broad display;  
" Now, at eternall Death's wide gate arriving,  
" Sinne gives them passage; still they cut their way,  
" Till, to the bottome of *Hell's palace* diving,  
" They enter Dis' *deepe CONCLAVE*: there they stay,  
" Waiting the rest; and now they all are met,  
" A full foule *Senate*, now *they all are set*,  
" The horride *Court*, big swolne with th' hideous *Counsel*, swet."  
See also my note on *Par. Regained*, B. i. 42.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.



THE  
SECOND BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE LOST.



## THE ARGUMENT.

*The consultation begun, Satan debates whether another battle be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven: Some advise it, others dissuade: A third proposal is preferred, mentioned before by Satan, to search the truth of that prophecy or tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature equal or not much inferiour to themselves, about this time to be created: Their doubt, who shall be sent on this difficult search; Satan their chief undertakes alone the voyage, is honoured and applauded. The council thus ended, the rest betake them severall ways, and to severall employments, as their inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till Satan return. He passēs on his journey to Hell gates; finds them shut, and who sat there to guard them; by whom at length they are opened, and discover to him the great gulf between Hell and Heaven; with what difficulty he passēs through, directed by Chaos, the Power of that place, to the sight of this new world which he sought.*

# PARADISE LOST.

## BOOK II.

HIGH on a throne of royal state, which far  
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,  
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand  
Showers on her kings barbarick pearl and gold,

Ver. 2. ——— the wealth of *Ormuz and of Ind*,] That is, *diamonds*; a principal part of the wealth of India, where they are found, and of the island Ormus, in the Persian gulf, which is the mart for them. PEARCE.

*Ormuz*, the greatest mart in all the *Orient* for all sorts of jewels. Howell's Letters, p. 110. BOWLE.

Ver. 3. *Or where the gorgeous East &c.*] Spenser has the same thought, *Faery Queen*, iii. iv. 23.

————— “ It did passe  
“ The wealth of th' East, and pompe of Persian kings.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 4. *Showers on her kings barbarick pearl and gold*,] It was the eastern ceremony, at the coronation of their kings, to powder them with *gold-dust* and *seed-pearl*.—In the Life of Timur-bec, or Tamerlane, written by a Persian contemporary author, are the following words, as translated by Monf. Petit de la Croix, in the account there given of his coronation, B. ii. c. i. “ *Les princes du sang royal et les emirs repandirent à pleines maines*” [with liberal hand] “ *sur sa tête quantité d'or et de pierres selon la coutume.*” WARBURTON.

Satan exalted fat, by merit rais'd 5  
 To that bad eminence: and, from despair  
 Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires  
 Beyond thus high; insatiate to pursue  
 Vain war with Heaven; and, by success untaught,  
 His proud imaginations thus display'd. 10

Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heaven;  
 For since no deep within her gulf can hold  
 Immortal vigour, though oppress'd and fall'n,  
 I give not Heaven for lost. From this descent  
 Celestial virtues rising, will appear 15  
 More glorious and more dread than from no fall,  
 And trust themselves to fear no second fate.  
 Me though just right, and the fix'd laws of  
 Heaven,

*Ibid.* ——— barbarick pearl and gold,] Virgil.  
*Æn.* ii. 504.

“*Barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi.*”

And Tasso, as Mr. Thyer observes, *Gier. Lib.* c. xvii. st. 10.

“*E ricco di barbarico ornamento,*

“*In habito regal splendor si vede.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 11. *Powers and Dominions,*] As St. Paul calls the  
 Angels, *Thrones*, or *Dominions*, or *Principalities*, or *Powers*, Col.  
 i. 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 12. This, and the five following lines, should be en-  
 closed in a parenthesis. LORD MONBODDO.

Ver. 18. *Me though just right, &c.*] *Me* is rightly placed  
 first in the sentence, being the emphatical word and the accusative  
 case governed by the two verbs which follow, *create* and *estab-  
 lished*. NEWTON.

Lord Monboddo adduces this passage, “*Me though just right*”  
 to the end of the sentence, as an elegant example of artificial

Did first create your leader ; next, free choice,  
 With what besides, in counsel or in fight, 20  
 Hath been achiev'd of merit ; yet this loss,  
 Thus far at least recover'd, hath much more  
 Establish'd in a safe unenvied throne,  
 Yielded with full consent. The happier state  
 In Heaven, which follows dignity, might draw 25  
 Envy from each inferiour ; but who here  
 Will envy whom the highest place exposes  
 Foremost to stand against the Thunderer's aim,  
 Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share  
 Of endless pain ? Where there is then no good 30  
 For which to strive, no strife can grow up there  
 From faction ; for none sure will claim in Hell  
 Precedence, none, whose portion is so small

arrangement, and considers it as a perfect pattern of rhetorical composition, hardly to be equalled in English. He gives a similar instance of the collocation of the pronoun from Horace, *Od.* i. v.

————— “ *Me tabula facer*  
 “ *Votiva paries indicat uvida*  
 “ *Suspendisse potenti*  
 “ *Vestimenta maris deo.*”

Ver. 20. ————— in counsel or in fight,] Perhaps it should be *council* ; as if the poet had said, “ his merit in the senate or in the field.” Fenton reads *council*.

Ver. 33. ————— none, whose portion &c.] Here seems to be some obscurity and difficulty in the syntax. Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin would read and point the passage thus :

————— “ for none sure will claim in Hell  
 “ Precedence, none. Whose portion is so small  
 “ Of present pain, that with ambitious mind  
 “ *He'll covet more!*” NEWTON.

Of present pain, that with ambitious mind  
 Will covet more. With this advantage then 35  
 To union, and firm faith, and firm accord,  
 More than can be in Heaven, we now return  
 To claim our just inheritance of old,  
 Surer to prosper than prosperity  
 Could have assur'd us; and, by what best way, 40  
 Whether of open war, or covert guile,  
 We now debate: Who can advise, may speak.

He ceas'd; and next him Moloch, scepter'd  
 king,

Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit  
 That fought in Heaven, now fiercer by despair:  
 His trust was with the Eternal to be deem'd 46  
 Equal in strength; and rather than be less  
 Car'd not to be at all; with that care lost  
 Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse,  
 He reck'd not; and these words thereafter spake.

Ver. 40. ————— by what best way,

*Whether of open war, or covert guile,*

*We now debate: Who can advise, may speak.]* Com-

pare Jove's speech to the gods, respecting the Titans, in Spenser,  
*Faery Queen*, vii. vi. 21.

————— "It now behoves us to advise

"What way is best to drive her to retire,

"Whether by open force, or counsell wife,

"Areed, ye sonnes of God! as best ye can devise."

See also ii. xi. 7.

"To assayle with open force or hidden guyle."

Ver. 43. ————— *scepter'd king,*] As Homer says,

*Iliad* i. 279, σκήπτρου Βασιλεύς. NEWTON.

Ver. 50. *He reck'd not;*] *He made no account of.* To reck

My sentence is for open war : Of wiles, 51  
 More unexpert, I boast not : them let those  
 Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.  
 For, while they sit contriving, shall the rest,  
 Millions that stand in arms, and longing wait 55  
 The signal to ascend, sit lingering here .  
 Heaven's fugitives, and for their dwelling place  
 Accept this dark opprobrious den of shame,  
 The prison of his tyranny who reigns  
 By our delay ? No, let us rather choose, 60  
 Arm'd with Hell flames and fury, all at once,  
 O'er Heaven's high towers to force resistless way,  
 Turning our tortures into horrid arms  
 Against the Torturer ; when to meet the noise  
 Of his almighty engine he shall hear 65  
 Infernal thunder ; and, for lightning, see  
 Black fire and horror shot with equal rage  
 Among his Angels ; and his throne itself

is much the same as to *reckon*. He spake *thereafter*, that is, *accordingly* ; as one who made no account of God, or hell, or any thing. NEWTON.

Ver. 51. *My sentence is for open war : Of wiles,  
 More unexpert, I boast not : &c.*] Compare Tasso,  
*Gier. Lib. c. ii. st. 51.*

“ Faccia Ismeno, incantando, ogni sua prova ;  
 “ Egli, a cui le malie son d' arme in vece :  
 “ Trattiamo il ferro pur noi cavalieri :  
 “ Quest' arte è nostra, e 'n questa sol si spera.”

Ver. 56. ——— sit lingering *here*] *Sit lingering*, to answer *sit contriving*, v. 54. While they sit contriving, shall the rest sit lingering ? NEWTON.

Mix'd with Tartarean sulphur, and strange fire,  
 His own invented torments. · But perhaps 70  
 The way seems difficult and steep to scale  
 With upright wing against a higher foe.  
 Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench  
 Of that forgetful lake benumm not still,  
 That in our proper motion we ascend 75  
 Up to our native seat : Descent and fall  
 To us is adverse. Who but felt of late,  
 When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear  
 Insulting, and pursued us through the deep,  
 With what compulsion and laborious flight 80  
 We sunk thus low ? The ascent is easy then ;  
 The event is fear'd ; should we again provoke  
 Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find  
 To our destruction ; if there be in Hell  
 Fear to be worse destroy'd : What can be worse 85  
 Than to dwell here, driven out from bliss, condemn'd  
 In this abhorred deep to utter woe ;  
 Where pain of unextinguishable fire  
 Must exercise us without hope of end,

Ver. 69. Mix'd with *Tartarean sulphur*,] *Filled with* : It is an imitation of Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 487.

“ At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu

“ *Miscetur.*” —PEARCE.

Ver. 89. *Must exercise us*] He uses the word like the Latin *exerceo*, which signifies to *vex* and *trouble*, as well as to practise and employ ; as in Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 453,

“ Non te nullius exercent numinis iræ.” NEWTON.

The vassals of his anger, when the scourge 90  
 Inexorably, and the torturing hour,  
 Calls us to penance? More destroy'd than thus,  
 We should be quite abolish'd, and expire.  
 What fear we then? what doubt we to incense  
 His utmost ire? which, to the highth enrag'd,  
 Will either quite consume us, and reduce 96  
 To nothing this essential; happier far  
 Than miserable to have eternal being:  
 Or, if our substance be indeed divine,

Ver. 90. *The vassals of his anger,*] The Devils are the *vassals* of the Almighty, thence Mammon says, B. ii. 252. "*Our state of splendid vassalage.*" And *the vassals of anger* is an expression confirmed by Spenser in his *Tears of the Muses*,

"Ah, wretched world, and all that are therein,

"The *vassals* of God's *wrath*, and slaves of sin."

But yet when I remember St. Paul's words, *Rom. ix. 22.* "*The vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, Σκεύη ὀργῆς,*" I suspect that Milton here, as perpetually, kept close to the Scripture style, and leave it to the reader's choice, *vassals* or *vessels*. BENTLEY.

\*In Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1624, p. 39, the devils are divided into *nine* kinds; the *third* of which, "are those *vessels of anger*, inventors of all mischief, &c. whom Esay calls vessels of fury: Their prince is Belial."

Ver. 91. ——— and the torturing hour

*Calls us to penance?*] To punishment. Milton here supposes the sufferings of the damned spirits not to be always alike intense, but that they have some intermissions. HUMS.

Possibly Milton had in view the intermission, which the Ghost in *Hamlet* describes:

————— "My hour is almost come,

"When I to sulphurous and tormenting flames

"Must render up myself."



And cannot cease to be, we are at worst 104  
 On this side nothing; and by proof we feel  
 Our power sufficient to disturb his Heaven,  
 And with perpetual inroads to alarm,  
 Though inaccessible, his fatal throne:  
 Which, if not victory, is yet revenge. 105  
 He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd  
 Desperate revenge, and battle dangerous  
 To less than Gods. On the other side up-rose  
 Belial, in act more graceful and humane:  
 A fairer person lost not Heaven; he seem'd 110

Ver. 104. ————— *his fatal throne:*] That is, *upheld by fate*, as he expresses it, B. i. 133. NEWTON.

Ver. 106. *He ended frowning, &c.*] Lord Monboddo observes, that nobody of any taste or understanding will deny the beauty of the following paragraph; in the whole of which there is not one metaphorical or figurative word. In what then does the beauty of it consist? the learned writer replies, in the justness of the thought, in the propriety of the expression, in the art of the composition, and in the variety of the versification.

Ver. 108. *To less than Gods.*] He gave it "To less than God." For it was dangerous to the Angels. BENTLEY.

This emendation appears very probable at first view: But the Angels, though often called *Gods*, yet sometimes are only compared or said to be *like the Gods*, as in B. i. 570.

"Their visages and stature *as of Gods*;"

and of the two chief, Michael and Satan, it is said, B. vi. 301, that "*likest Gods* they seem'd;" and of two others, *ibid.* 366.

"Two potent thrones, that to be *less than Gods*

"Disdain'd:"

And, in B. ix. 937, a manifest distinction is made between Gods and *Angels* who are called *Demi-Gods*. The present reading, therefore, "*To less than Gods*," may be justified. NEWTON.

For dignity compos'd, and high exploit :  
 But all was false and hollow ; though his tongue  
 Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear  
 The better reason, to perplex and dash  
 Maturest counsels : for his thoughts were low ;  
 To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds 116  
 Timorous and slothful : yet he pleas'd the ear,  
 And with persuasive accent thus began.

I should be much for open war, O Peers,  
 As not behind in hate ; if what was urg'd 120  
 Main reason to persuade immediate war,  
 Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast  
 Ominous conjecture on the whole success ;  
 When he, who most excels in fact of arms,

Ver. 113. *But all was false and hollow ;*] After these words a parenthesis commences, which comes down to the words, "*for his thoughts were low,*" which can only connect with the words, "*But all was false and hollow.*" LORD MONBODDO.

It may be observed, that Glover has copied his *Epiastes* from Milton's *Belial*, *Leonidas*, B. ii. 226, &c.

Ver. 114. *Dropt manna,*] The same expression, but applied differently, in Shakspeare's *Merch. of Venice*, A. v. S. ult.

"Fair ladies, you drop manna in the way

"Of starved people." NEWTON.

Sidney, in his *Arcadia*, has a phrase derived from the scriptural account of manna ; "her HEAVENLY-DEWED tongue," 13th edit. p. 140.

Ibid. ——— and could make the worse appear

*The better reason,*] Word for word from the known  
 \* profession of the ancient Sophists, Τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἥλιου κατεῖλεν αὐτοῖς.

BENTLEY.

Ver. 124. ——— excels in fact of arms,] From the  
 Italian, *fatto d' arme*, a battle. HEYBURN.

In what he counsels, and in what excels, 125  
 Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair  
 And utter dissolution, as the scope  
 Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.

First, what revenge? The towers of Heaven are  
 fill'd

With armed watch, that render all access 130  
 Impregnable: oft on the bordering deep  
 Encamp their legions; or, with obscure wing,  
 Scout far and wide into the realm of night,  
 Scorning surprise. Or could we break our way  
 By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise 135  
 With blackest insurrection, to confound  
 Heaven's purest light; yet our great enemy,  
 All incorruptible, would on his throne  
 Sit unpolluted; and the ethereal mould,

The phrase is a simple Gallicism; *en fait d' armes*; as, "maître *en fait d' armes*." Curfory Remarks on some of our ancient poets, particularly Milton, 1789, p. 126.

Ver. 132. ——— or *with obscure wing*] There are several instances, in our elder writers, of this accentuation. Thus, in *the Cocker's Prophecy*, 1594;

"O what is fauor in an *obscure* place."

And in Shakspeare more than once. Congreve, in his *Mourning Bride*, A. v. S. xi. gives the same accent:

—————"I've from the body

"Sever'd the head, and in an *obscure* corner

"Dispos'd it —"

Ver. 138. ——— *would on his throne*

*Sit unpolluted*;] This is a reply to that part of Moloch's speech, where he had threatened to mix the throne itself of God with infernal sulphur and strange fire. Newton.

Incapable of stain, would soon expel 140  
 Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire,  
 Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope  
 Is flat despair: We must exasperate  
 The Almighty Victor to spend all his rage, 144  
 And that must end us; that must be our cure,  
 To be no more. Sad cure! for who would lose,  
 Though full of pain, this intellectual being,  
 Those thoughts that wander through eternity,  
 To perish rather, swallow'd up and lost  
 In the wide womb of uncreated night, 150  
 Devoid of sense and motion? And who knows,  
 Let this be good, whether our angry foe  
 Can give it, or will ever? how he can,  
 Is doubtful; that he never will, is sure.  
 Will he, so wise, let loose at once his ire, 155  
 Belike through impotence, or unaware,

Ver. 142. ———— *Thus repuls'd, our final hope*

*Is flat despair:]* Shakspeare, *K. Hen. VI. A. ii.*

S. iii.

“Our hap is loss, *our hope but sad despair.*” MALONE,

Ver. 146. ———— *Sad cure! for who would lose, &c.]*

Belial's remark here finely expresses what Addison, in *Cato*, calls the “secret dread, and inward horror, of falling into nought,”

Ver. 151. *Devoid of sense and motion?] Dr. Bentley reads,*

“Devoid of sense and *action* :” but *motion* includes *action*. Dr. Warburton and Mr. Upton think, that it should be “*motion* ;” but the common reading seems better, as it is stronger and expresses more; they should be deprived not only of all *sense* but of all *motion*, not only of all the *intellectual* but of all *vital* functions.

NEWTON.

Ver. 156. ———— *impotence,]* It is here meant for the op-

To give his enemies their wish; and end  
 Them in his anger, whom his anger saves  
 To punish endless? Wherefore cease we then?  
 Say they, who counsel war; we are decreed, 160  
 Reserv'd, and destin'd to eternal woe;  
 Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,  
 What can we suffer worse? Is this then worst,  
 Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms? 164  
 What, when we fled amain, pursued, and struck  
 With Heaven's afflicting thunder, and besought  
 The deep to shelter us? this Hell then seem'd  
 A refuge from those wounds: or when we lay  
 Chain'd on the burning lake? that sure was worse.  
 What if the breath, that kindled those grim fires,

posite to wisdom, and is used frequently by the Latin writers to signify a *weakness of mind*, an *unsteadiness in the government of our passions*, or the *conduct of our designs*. "Victoria ferociore impotentioresque reddidit," Cic. *Epist. ad Fam.* ix. 9. "Impotentia dictorum et factorum;" *Tusc. Diss.* iv. 23. Hence we often meet with *impotens animi*, *doloris*, *iræ*, etc. PEARCE.

Hence the exclamation in *Samson Agonistes*, which Dryden has copied;

"O impotence of mind, in body strong!"

Ver. 170. *What if the breath, that kindled those grim fires,* [*Isaiah xxx. 33.* "For Tophet is ordained of old; the pile thereof is fire and much wood; the *breath of the Lord*, like a stream of brimstone, *doth kindle it.*" NEWTON.

The sentiment in this, and the two following verses, is probably borrowed from *Æschylus*, where Oceanus addresses Prometheus, *Prom. Vinct.* v. 311. edit. Schütz.

Εἰ δ' ἄλ' ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῷ θυμῷ λῶγος  
 ἔστιν, τάχ' ἂν σὺ, καὶ μακρὰν ἀντήρην  
 θαλάσῃ, λῶες Ζεύς, ὅστις σὺ τὸν αἶν' ἔχῃς  
 Πανόρτην μὲν ἔχειν, ἀναιδὲς δὲ τὴν θαλάσῃ.

Awak'd, should blow them into sevenfold rage, 171  
 And plunge us in the flames ? or, from above,  
 Should intermitted vengeance arm again  
 His red right hand to plague us ? What if all  
 Her stores were open'd, and this firmament 175  
 Of Hell should spout her cataracts of fire,  
 Impendent horrors, threatening hideous fall  
 One day upon our heads ; while we perhaps,  
 Designing or exhorting glorious war,  
 Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl'd 180  
 Each on his rock transfix'd, the sport and prey  
 Of wracking whirlwinds ; or for ever sunk  
 Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains ;  
 There to converse with everlasting groans,  
 Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd, 185

Ver. 174. *His red right hand*] So Horace says of Jupiter, "*rubente dextera*." But, being spoken of *Vengeance*, it must be "*her right hand*," as 'in the next line "*her stores*."

BENTLEY.

There is something plausible and ingenious in this observation ; But by "*his*" seems to have been meant *God's*, who is mentioned so often in the course of the debate, that he might very well be understood without being named ; and by "*her stores*" in the next line, I suppose, are meant *Hell's*, as mention is made afterwards of "*her cataracts of fire*." NEWTON.

"*Her stores*" are undoubtedly *Hell's stores* ; the order of the relative and the antecedent being here inverted.

Ver. 180. *Caught in a fiery tempest &c.*] Again alluding to the fate of Ajax Oileus, as in B. i. 328. HUMS.

Ver. 181, ————— *the sport and prey*  
*Of wracking whirlwinds ;*] Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 75.

\* *Rapida luctibus ventis*! NEWTON.

Ver. 185. *Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd*]. This way of

Ages of hopeles end? This would be worse.  
 War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike  
 My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile  
 With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye  
 Views all things at one view? He from Heaven's  
     highth  
 All these our motions vain sees, and derides; 191

introducing several adjectives beginning with the same letter, without any conjunction, is very frequent among the Greek tragedians, whom Milton, I fancy, imitated. What strength and beauty it adds, needs not to be mentioned. THYER.

It was a common practice among our own poets. Thus Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* vii. vii. 46.

\* Unbodied, unfoul'd, unheard, unseen."

And Fairfax, *Tasso*, c. ii. st. 16.

"Unseene, unmark'd, unpitied, unrewarded."

Many passages might be adduced. Milton was certainly fond of this practice. Thus B. iii. 231.

"Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, unfought:"

Again, B. v. 899.

"Unshaken, unsecul'd, unterrified."

Again, *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 429.

"Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd."

And even in his prose, vol. i. p. 255. ed. 1698, "But he, that will mould a modern bishop into a primitive, must yield him to be elected by the popular voice, *undiocest, unrevenned, unlorded.*" This practice appears to me to be ridiculed in Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 239.

"Ungoverned, uncardinall'd, unlorded,

"Outed of all his hopes, but not *unwarded.*"

Ver. 191. ———— *sees and derides;*] Alluding to *Psalm* ii. 4. "He, that *sitteth in the heavens*, shall laugh; the Lord shall *have them in derision.*" NEWTON.

Not more almighty to resist our might  
 Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.  
 Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heaven  
 Thus trampled, thus expell'd to suffer here 195  
 Chains and these torments? better these than  
 worse,

By my advice; since fate inevitable  
 Subdues us, and omnipotent decree;  
 The victor's will. To suffer, as to do,  
 Our strength is equal, nor the law unjust 200  
 That so ordains: This was at first resolv'd,  
 If we were wise, against so great a foe  
 Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.  
 I laugh, when those who at the spear are bold  
 And venturous, if that fail them, shrink and fear  
 What yet they know must follow, to endure 205  
 Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,  
 The sentence of their conquerour: This is now  
 Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,  
 Our supreme foe in time may much remit 210  
 His anger; and perhaps, thus far remov'd,  
 Not mind us not offending, satisfied  
 With what is punish'd; whence these raging fires  
 Will slacken, if his breath stir not their flames.  
 Our purer essence then will overcome 215

Ver. 199. ———— *To suffer, as to do,*] So Scævola  
 boasted that he was a Roman, and knew as well how to suffer, as  
 to act. "*Et facere et pati fortia Romanum est,*" Liv. ii. 12.  
 So Horace, *Od.* III. xxiv. 43. "*Quidvis et facere et pati.*"  
 NEWTON.



Their noxious vapour ; or, inur'd, not feel ;  
 Or, chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd  
 In temper and in nature, will receive  
 Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain ;  
 This horror will grow mild, this darkness light ;  
 Besides what hope the never-ending flight 221  
 Of future days may bring, what chance, what  
 change

Worth waiting ; since our present lot appears  
 For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,  
 If we procure not to ourselves more woe. 225  
 Thus Belial, with words cloth'd in reason's  
 garb,

Counsell'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloth,  
 Not peace : And after him thus Mammon spake.

Either to disenthroned the King of Heaven  
 We war, if war be best, or to regain 230  
 Our own right lost : Him to unthroned we then  
 May hope, when everlasting Fate shall yield

Ver. 220. *This horror will grow mild, this darkness light ;*]  
*Light*, I conceive, is an adjective, here as well as mild ; and the  
 meaning is, " This darkness will in time become easy, as this  
 horror will grow mild : " Or, as Mr. Thyer thinks, it is an  
 adjective used in the same sense as when we say, " It is a *light*  
 night." But it is not well expressed. Newton.

Ver. 226. ——— *words cloth'd in reason's garb,*] As in  
*Genius*, v. 759, of that specious enchanter,

" Obtruding false rules *prank'd in reason's garb,*"

Ver. 227. *Counsell'd ignoble ease,*] Virgil's "*ignobile otium,*"  
 Georg. iv, 764. Newton.

To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife :  
 The former, vain to hope, argues as vain  
 The latter : For what place can be for us 235  
 Within Heaven's bound, unless Heaven's Lord  
 supreme

We overpower ? Suppose he should relent,  
 And publish grace to all, on promise made  
 Of new subjection ; with what eyes could we  
 Stand in his presence humble, and receive 240  
 Strict laws impos'd, to celebrate his throne  
 With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead sing  
 Forc'd Halleluiahs ; while he lordly sits  
 Our envied Sovran, and his altar breathes

Ver. 233. ———— *and Chaos judge the strife :*] Between the King of Heaven and Us, not between Fate and Chance, as Dr. Bentley supposes. PEARCE.

Ver. 234. *The former, vain to hope,*] That is, to unthroneth the King of Heaven, "argues as vain the latter," that is, to regain our own lost right. NEWTON.

Ver. 244. ———— *and his altar breathes Ambrosial odours and ambrosial flowers,*] Dr. Bentley would read,

"Ambrosial odours *from* ambrosial flowers ;"

And he asks, how an altar can *breathe* flowers, especially when flowers are, as here, distinguished from *odours* ? But, when the altar is said to *breathe*, the meaning is, that it *smells of*, it *throws out the smell of*, or, as Milton expresses it, B. iv. 265, it *breathes out the smell of*. In this sense of the word *breathe*, an altar may be said to *breathe flowers*, and *odours* too as a distinct thing ; for, by *odours* here, Milton means the smells of gums and sweet spicy shrubs : See B. viii. 517. Not unlike is what we read in Fairfax's *Tasso*, c. xviii. st. 20.

"Flowers and odours sweetly smilde and smeld."

PEARCE.

Ambrosial odours and ambrosial flowers, 245  
 Our servile offerings? This must be our task  
 In Heaven, this our delight; how wearisome  
 Eternity so spent, in worship paid  
 To whom we hate! Let us not then pursue  
 By force impossible, by leave obtain'd 250  
 Unacceptable, though in Heaven, our state  
 Of splendid vassalage; but rather seek  
 Our own good from ourselves, and from our own  
 Live to ourselves, though in this vast recess,  
 Free, and to none accountable, preferring 255  
 Hard liberty before the easy yoke  
 Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear  
 Then most conspicuous, when great things of  
 small,  
 Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse  
 We can create; and in what place so e'er 260  
 Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain,

Milton illustrates himself in *Samson Agon.* v. 986.

————— "my tomb"

"With odours visited and annual flowers."

Ver. 254. *Live to ourselves,*] \* Horace, *Epist.* I. xviii. 107,

————— "ut mihi vivam"

"Quod superest ævi." NEWTON.

Ver. 255. ————— preferring

*Hard liberty before the easy yoke*

*Of servile pomp.*] Such is the disdainful obser-

vation of Prometheus to Mercury, *Prom. Bound.* v. 974. edit. Schütz.

Τῷ, οὔτε λαιμάς τῇ ἑμὴν δουρασίᾳ,  
 Σαφὺς ἵπτατο, εἴη ἢ ἀλλὰ ζῆμι ἥνυ.

Through labour and endurance. This deep world  
Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst  
Thick clouds and dark doth Heaven's all-ruling  
Sire

Choose to reside, his glory unobscur'd, 265  
And with the majesty of darkness round  
Covers his throne; from whence deep thunders roar  
Mustering their rage, and Heaven resembles Hell?  
As he our darkness, cannot we his light  
Imitate when we please? This desert soil 270  
Wants not her hidden lustre, gems and gold;  
Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise  
Magnificence; and what can Heaven show more?  
Our torments also may in length of time  
Become our elements; these piercing fires 275  
As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd  
Into their temper; which must needs remove  
The sensible of pain. All things invite  
To peaceful counsels, and the settled state

Ver. 263. ————— *How oft amidst*

*Thick clouds and dark &c.*] Imitated from *Psalms*  
xviii. 11, 13, and from *Psalms* xcvi. 2. NEWTON.

Ver. 278. *The sensible of pain.*] The sense of pain. *To*  
*sensible*, the adjective used for a substantive. HUME.

Ver. 279. *To peaceful counsels,*] There are some things wonder-  
fully fine in these speeches of the infernal Spirits, and in the  
different arguments so suited to their different characters: but  
\*they have wandered from the point in debate, as is too common  
in other assemblies. Satan had declared in B. i. 660.

————— "Peace is despair'd,

"For who can think submission? War then, War,

"Open or understood, must be resolv'd."

Of order, how in safety best we may 280  
 Compose our present evils, with regard  
 Of what we are, and where; dismissing quite  
 All thoughts of war: Ye have what I advise.

He scarce had finish'd, when such murmur  
 fill'd

The assembly, as when hollow rocks retain 285

Which was approved and confirmed by the whole host of Angels.  
 And accordingly, at the opening of the council, he proposes for  
 the subject of their consideration, which way they would make  
 choice of, B. ii. 41.

"Whether of open war, or covert guile,

"We now debate:"

Moloch speaks to the purpose, and declares for open war, v. 51.

"My sentence is for open war: Of wiles,

"More unexpert, I boast not, &c."

But Belial argues alike against war open or conceal'd, v. 187.

"War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike

"My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile, &c."

Mammon carries on the same arguments, and is for *dismissing quite all thoughts of war*. So that the question is changed in the course of the debate, whether through the inattention or intention of the author it is not easy to say. NEWTON.

Ver. 282. *Of what we are and where,*] So it is in the first edition; but in the second, "Of what we are and *where*." Tickell restored the reading of the first edition, which is the best; as it implies both "our condition; and the place where we are;" while the other merely means "our condition *past* and *present*." For this reason Dr. Newton follows the first edition, which Dr. Bentley also has followed.

Ver. 285. ——— *as when hollow rocks retain, &c.*] Virgil compares the assent, given by the assembly of the Gods to Juno's speech, *Æn.* x. 96. to the rising wind, which our author assimilates to its decreasing murmurs.

The sound of blustering winds, which all night  
long  
Had rous'd the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull

————— “ Cunctisque fremebant  
“ Cælicolæ assensu vario : cœu flamina prima,  
“ Cum deprensa fremunt sylvis, et cæca volutant  
“ Murmura, venturos nautis prudentia ventos.”

HUMER.

The conduct of both poets is equally just and proper. The intent of Juno's speech was to rouse and inflame the assembly of the Gods, and the effect of it is therefore properly compared by Virgil to the *rising* wind : but the design of Mammon's speech is to quiet and compose the infernal assembly, and the effect of this therefore is as properly compared by Milton to the wind *falling* after a tempest. \* Claudian has a simile of the same kind in his description of the infernal council, *In Rufinum*, i. 70.

————— “ cœu murmurat alti  
“ Impacata quies pelagi, cum flamine fracto  
“ Durat adhuc sævitque tumor, dubiumque per æstus  
“ Effusa recedentes fluitant vestigia venti.”

And in other particulars our author seems to have drawn his *council of Devils* with an eye to Claudian's council of Furies ; and the reader may compare Alesto's speech with Moloch's, and Megara's with Belial's or rather with Beëlzebub's. NEWTON.

Milton, in this simile, did not forget Homer, whom he has exceeded, however, in beauty of description, *Iliad* ii. 144.

Κίνηθ' ὁ ἄνεμος, ὡς κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης  
Πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο, τὰ μὲν τ' Εὐρώς τε Νέτος τε  
“ Ὀρὸς, ἰπαιζέας πατρὸς Διὸς ἐκ νεφελῶν.”

And, with respect to his *council of Devils*, it should be remembered, that he had before exhibited, at the age of seventeen, an infernal council and conspiracy in that brilliant proof of his genius, *In Quintum Novembrii*. Phineas Fletcher, in his *Locustæ vel Pietas Jesuitica*, and his *Locusts or Apollyonists*, published at Cambridge in 1627, displays singular scenery. See note, B. i. 795. Of

Sea-faring men o'er-watch'd, whose bark by  
chance

Or pinnace anchors in a craggy bay  
After the tempest: Such applause was heard 290  
As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleas'd,  
Advising peace: for such another field  
They dreaded worse than Hell: So much the fear  
Of thunder and the sword of Michaël  
Wrought still within them; and no less desire 295  
To found this nether empire, which might rise  
By policy, and long process of time,  
In emulation opposite to Heaven.

Which when Beëlzebub perceiv'd, than whom  
Satan except, none higher sat, with grave 300  
Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd  
A pillar of state; deep on his front engraven

Fletcher's Latin poem I shall have occasion to speak largely in the notes on *Paradise Regained*, B. i. 42, and on the beautiful poem *In Quintum Novembris*. \*

Ver. 301. *Aspect*] So Milton always accents this word, agreeably to the practice of our elder poets. It began to be accented, however, on the first syllable, in Milton's time. See Baron's *Cyprian Academy*, 1648. B. ii. p. 72.

"I' the comely *aspect* of the Paphian Queene."

Ver. 302. *A pillar of state*;] \*The same expression is in Shakspeare, *Hen. VI.* P. ii. A. i.

"Brave peers of England, *pillars of the state*!"

NEWTON.

The same phrase is in Gascoigne's *Poems*, bl. l. 1587. p. 116. And, in *Foxes and Firebrands*, 2d edit. 1682, Lord Strafford is called "*a pillar of state*." And Milton, in his *Treatise on Education*, recommends the study of Politicks to Youth, that they may become "*steadfast pillars of the state*."

Deliberation fat, and publick care ;  
 And princely counsel in his face yet shone,  
 Majestick, though in ruin : sage he stood 305  
 With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear  
 The weight of mightiest monarchies ; his look  
 Drew audience and attention still as night.  
 Or summer's noon-tide air, while thus he spake.  
 Thrones and Imperial Powers, Offspring of  
 Heaven, 310

Ethereal Virtues ; or these titles now  
 Must we renounce, and, changing style, be call'd  
 Princes of Hell ? for so the popular vote  
 Inclines, here to continue, and build up here 314  
 A growing empire ; doubtless ; while we dream,  
 And know not that the King of Heaven hath  
 doom'd

This place our dungeon ; not our safe retreat  
 Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt  
 From Heaven's high jurisdiction, in new league

Ver. 305. *Majestick, though in ruin :*] These words are to be joined in construction with *his face*, and not with *princely counsel*, as Dr. Bentley imagined. NEWTON.

Ver. 306. *With Atlantean shoulders*] A metaphor to express his vast capacity. Atlas was so great an astronomer, that he is said to have borne Heaven on his shoulders. The whole picture from ver. 299, to the end of the paragraph, is admirable!

RICHARDSON.

\*Ver. 309. *Or summer's noon-tide air,*] *Noon-tide* is the same as *noon-time*, when in hot countries there is hardly a breath of wind stirring, and men and beasts, by reason of the intense heat, retire to shade and rest. This is the custom of Italy particularly, where our author lived some time. NEWTON.



Banded against his throne, but to remain 320  
 In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd  
 Under the inevitable curb, reserv'd  
 His captive multitude : For he, be sure,  
 In highth or depth, still first and last will reign  
 Sole king, and of his kingdom lose no part 325  
 By our revolt ; but over Hell extend  
 His empire, and with iron scepter rule  
 Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven.  
 What fit we then projecting peace and war ?  
 War hath determin'd us, and foil'd with loss 330  
 Irreparable ; terms of peace yet none  
 Vouchsaf'd or sought ; for what peace will be  
     given  
 To us enslav'd, but custody severe,  
 And stripes, and arbitrary punishment

Ver. 327. ——— and with iron scepter rule

*Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven.*] The iron scepter is an allusion to *Psalms* ii. 9, as the golden is to *Esther* v. 2. HUME.

Ver. 332. ——— for what peace will be given

*To us enslav'd, but custody severe,*——

—— and what peace can we return

*But to our power hostility and hate ?*] In both these

passages there is an unusual construction of the particle *but* ; it seems to put “ custody severe &c.” in the one, and “ hostility and hate &c.” in the other, on the foot of peace. There are some very few instances where the Latins have used *nisi* (*except*, or *but*) in a like construction. One is in Plautus’s *Menæchmi*, *Prot.* v. 59. “ Ei liberorum, *nisi* divitiæ, nihil erat ” Lam- binus says, this expression seems too unusual ; for the particle *nisi* can except none but things like, or of a like kind.

RICHARDSON.

Inflicted ? and what peace can we return, 335  
 But to our power hostility and hate,  
 Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though slow,  
 Yet ever plotting how the conquerour least  
 May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice  
 In doing what we most in suffering feel ? 340  
 Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need  
 With dangerous expedition to invade  
 Heaven, whose high walls fear no assault or siege,  
 Or ambush from the deep. What if we find  
 Some easier enterprise ? There is a place, 345  
 (If ancient and prophetick fame in Heaven  
 Err not,) another world, the happy seat  
 Of some new race call'd Man, about this time  
 To be created like to us, though less  
 In power and excellence, but favour'd more 350  
 Of Him who rules above ; so was his will  
 Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an oath,  
 That shook Heaven's whole circumference, con-  
 firm'd.

Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn  
 What creatures there inhabit, of what mould, 355  
 Or substance, how endued, and what their power,

Ver. 352. ———— and by an oath,

*That shook Heaven's whole circumference, confirm'd.]*

"He confirm'd it by an oath," are the very words of St. Paul,  
*Heb. vi. 17.* And this oath is said to shake Heaven's whole cir-  
*cumference*, in allusion to Jupiter's oath in Virgil, *Æn. ix. 104*  
 &c. ; as Virgil had imitated Homer, *Iliad i. 528—530.*

NEWTON.

And where their weakness, how attempted best,  
 By force or subtlety. Though Heaven be shut,  
 And Heaven's high Arbitrator sit secure  
 In his own strength, this place may lie expos'd,  
 The utmost border of his kingdom, left 361  
 To their defence who hold it: Here perhaps

Ver. 360. ——— *this place may lie expos'd,*

*The utmost border of his kingdom, left*

*To their defence who hold it:]* It has been objected,

that there is a contradiction between this part of Beëlzebub's speech, and what he says afterwards, speaking of the same thing and of a messenger proper to be sent in search of this new world, ver. 410.

—— “What strength, what art can then

“Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe

“Through the strict senteries and stations thick

“Of Angels watching round?”

How can this earth be said to lie exposed &c. and yet to be strictly guarded by stationed Angels? The objection is very ingenious: but it is not said that the earth *doth* lie exposed, but only that it *may lie* exposed: and it may be considered, that the design of Beëlzebub is different in these different speeches; in the former, where he is encouraging the assembly to undertake an expedition against this world, he says things to *lessen* the difficulty and danger; but in the latter, when they have determined upon the expedition, and are consulting of a proper person to employ in it, then he says things to *magnify* the difficulty and danger, to make them more cautious in their choice. NEWTON.

Ver. 362. ——— here *perhaps*] Dr. Bentley says that Milton must have given it “*there* perhaps:” but I think not: in ver. 360. it is *this place*, and therefore Milton gave it *here*, that is, in the place which I am speaking of. Milton frequently uses *now* and *here*, not meaning a time or place *then* present to him or his speakers *when* they are speaking; but that time and that place which he or they are speaking of. PEARCE.

Some advantageous act may be achiev'd  
 By sudden onset ; either with Hell fire  
 To waste his whole creation, or possess 365  
 All as our own, and drive, as we were driven,  
 The puny habitants, or, if not drive,  
 Seduce them to our party, that their God  
 May prove their foe, and with repenting hand  
 Abolish his own works. This would surpass 370  
 Common revenge, and interrupt his joy  
 In our confusion, and our joy upraise  
 In his disturbance ; when his darling sons,  
 Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse  
 Their frail original, and faded blifs, 375  
 Faded so soon. Advise, if this be worth  
 Attempting, or to sit in darkness here  
 Hatching vain empires. Thus Beëlzebub  
 Pleaded his devilish counsel, first devis'd  
 By Satan, and in part propos'd : For whence, 380  
 But from the author of all ill, could spring

Ver. 369. *The puny habitants,*] It is possible that the author by *puny* might mean no more than weak or little ; but yet if we reflect how frequently he uses words in their proper and primary signification, it seems probable that he might include likewise the sense of the French (from whence it is derived) *puis né*, born since, created long after us. NEWTON.

Ver. 369. ———— *and with repenting hand &c.*] Gen. vi. 7. " And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth." GILLIES.

Ver. 379. ———— *first devis'd*  
*By Satan, and in part propos'd :*] See Satan's speech, B. i. 650, and what follows. BOWLE.

So deep a malice, to confound the race  
 Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell  
 To mingle and involve, done all to spite  
 The great Creator? But their spite still serves 385  
 His glory to augment. The bold design  
 Pleas'd highly those infernal States, and joy  
 Sparkled in all their eyes; with full assent  
 They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews.

Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate,  
 Synod of Gods, and, like to what ye are, 391  
 Great things resolv'd, which, from the lowest  
 deep,

Will once more lift us up, in spite of fate,  
 Nearer our ancient seat; perhaps in view  
 Of those bright confines, whence, with neigh-  
 bouring arms 395

And opportune excursion, we may chance  
 Re-enter Heaven; or else in some mild zone  
 Dwell, not unvisited of Heaven's fair light,  
 Secure; and at the brightening orient beam  
 Purge off this gloom: the soft delicious air, 400  
 To heal the scar of these corrosive fires,  
 Shall breathe her balm. But first whom shall  
 we send

Ver. 396. ————— *we may chance*

*Re-enter Heaven;*] Milton has sometimes left out the sign of the infinitive mode, viz. the particle *to*, where he thought it would occasion no ambiguity; as in this passage: unless we should chuse to understand *chance* as an adverb, of the same signification with *perhaps*. LORD MONSODDO.

In search of this new world? whom shall we find  
 Sufficient? who shall tempt with wandering feet  
 The dark unbottom'd infinite abyss, 405  
 And through the palpable obscure find out  
 His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight  
 Upborne with indefatigable wings  
 Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive  
 The happy isle? What strength, what art can  
 then 410

Ver. 406. ———— *the palpable obscure*] It is remarkable in our author's style, that he often uses adjectives as substantives, and substantives again as adjectives. Here are two adjectives, the latter of which is used for a substantive, as again in ver. 409, *the vast abrupt*. And sometimes there are two substantives, the former of which is used for an adjective, as *the ocean stream*, B. i. 202. *the bullion dross*, B. i. 704. Milton often enriches his language in this manner. NEWTON.

Ver. 408. *Upborne with indefatigable wings*] Tasso calls Gabriel's wings, *Gier. Lib. c. i. st. 14*,

"*Infaticabilmente, agili, e preste.*" THYER.

Ver. 409. ———— *ere he arrive*

*The happy isle?*] So he uses the word *arrive* in the Preface to the *Judgement of Martin Bucer*, edit. 1738, p. 276. "If our things here below *arrive him* where he is." Again, in his *Treatise of civil power*, &c. p. 553. "Let him also forbear force—lest a worse woe *arrive him*." And thus Shakspeare, *Hen. VI. P. iii. A. v.*

————— "those powers, that the Queen

"Hath rais'd in Gallia, have *arriv'd our coast*,"

NEWTON.

Ver. 410. *The happy isle?*] The earth hanging in the sea of air. So Cicero calls the earth, *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 66, "*quasi magnam quandam insulam, quam nos orbem terræ vocamus.*"

NEWTON.

Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe  
 Through the strict senteries and stations thick  
 Of Angels watching round? Here he had need  
 All circumspection, and we now no less  
 Choice in our suffrage; for, on whom we send, 415  
 The weight of all and our last hope relies.

This said, he sat; and expectation held  
 His look suspense, awaiting who appear'd  
 To second, or oppose, or undertake  
 The perilous attempt: but all sat mute, 420  
 Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and  
 each

In other's countenance read his own dismay,  
 Astonish'd: None among the choice and prime  
 Of those Heaven-warring champions could be  
 found

So hardy, as to proffer or accept, 425  
 Alone, the dreadful voyage; till at last  
 Satan, whom now transcendent glory rais'd  
 Above his fellows, with monarchal pride,  
 Conscious of highest worth, unmov'd thus spake.

O Progeny of Heaven, empyreal Thrones, 430

Ver. 420. ——— but all sat mute,] Homer often  
 uses words to the same effect, when an affair of difficulty is pro-  
 posed. Thus, in *Iliad* vii. 92.

‘Ὡς ἴσαθ’ οἱ δ’ ἅρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγὼ τοιο σιωπῇ,  
 Αἰδέσθην μὴ ἀνέμεσθαι, δίσσαν δ’ ἐκδοίχθαι. NEWTON.

Ver. 429. ——— unmov'd] With any of those  
 dangers which deterred others. NEWTON.

Ver. 430. O Progeny of Heaven,] Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 7.

“jam nova progenies caelo dimittitur alto.” HUMS.

With reason hath deep silence and demur  
 Seis'd us, though undismay'd: Long is the way  
 And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;  
 Our prison strong; this huge convex of fire,  
 Outrageous to devour, immures us round 435  
 Ninefold; and gates of burning adamant,  
 Barr'd over us, prohibit all egress.  
 These pass'd, if any pass, the void profound  
 Of unessential Night receives him next  
 Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being 440  
 Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.

Ver. 432. ————— *long is the way*

*And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;]* He  
 had Virgil in mind, *Æn.* vi. 128.

“Sed revocare gradum, superâsque evadere ad auras,

“Hoc opus, hic labor est.” NEWTON.

Dante was here in Milton's mind; for the ascent from hell is  
 thus described, *Inferno*, c. xxxiv. 95.

“*La via è lunga, e'l cammino è malvagio.*”

Ver. 435. ————— *immures us round*

*Ninefold;]* As 'Styx flows nine times round the  
 damned, in Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 439.

—— “*novies Styx interfusa coercet.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 436. ——— *and gates of burning adamant,]* Alluding  
 to the gates of hell, in Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 552.

“*Porta adversa ingens, solidâque adamante columnæ.*”

NEWTON.

Ver. 438. ————— *the void profound]* *Inane profundum*, as Lucretius has it in several places. NEWTON.

Ver. 439. *Of unessential Night]* *Unessential*, void of being;  
 darkness approaching nearest to, and being the best resemblance  
 of, non-entity. HUME.



If thence he 'scape into whatever world,  
 Or unknown region, what remains him less  
 Than unknown dangers, and as hard escape?  
 But I should ill become this throne, O Peers, 445  
 And this imperial sovranity, adorn'd  
 With splendour, arm'd with power, if aught  
     propos'd  
 And judg'd of publick moment, in the shape  
 Of difficulty, or danger, could deter  
 Me from attempting. Wherefore do I assume 450  
 These royalties, and not refuse to reign,  
 Refusing to accept as great a share  
 Of hazard as of honour, due alike  
 To him who reigns, and so much to him due  
 Of hazard more, as he above the rest 455  
 High honour'd sits? Go therefore, mighty Powers,

Ver. 445. *But I should ill become this throne, O Peers, &c.*]  
 The whole speech, from this line, is wonderfully beautiful in  
 every respect. But the reason why I have quoted it, is, to show  
 how the poet supports Satan's

“ Monarchal pride, conscious of highest worth,”  
 as he expresses it. In the line,

*But I should ill become this throne, O Peers,*

I have no doubt but he had in view the speech of Sarpedon in  
 Homer; in which indeed the thought is Homer's, *That a king,*  
*being most honoured, should likewise expose himself most to danger.*  
 But Milton has given it so much of the rhetorical cast, and dressed  
 it so up with sentences and enthymemas, after the manner of De-  
 mosthenes, who, as I have said elsewhere, was his model for  
 speeches, that Homer is hardly to be found in it.

LORD MONRODDO.

Terrour of Heaven, though fall'n; intend at  
home,

While here shall be our home, what best may ease  
The present misery, and render Hell  
More tolerable; if there be cure or charm 460  
To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain  
Of this ill mansion: intermit no watch  
Against a wakeful foe, while I abroad  
Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek  
Deliverance for us all: This enterprize 465  
None shall partake with me. Thus saying rose  
The Monarch, and prevented all reply;  
Prudent, lest, from his resolution rais'd,  
Others among the chief might offer now  
(Certain to be refus'd) what erst they fear'd; 470  
And, so refus'd, might in opinion stand  
His rivals; winning cheap the high repute,  
Which he through hazard huge must earn. But  
they

Ver. 457. ——— intend *at home*,] Lord Monbodo is of opinion, that the word *intend* is here used in it's proper signification of *bent*, or *application, to any thing*; in which sense the Latins say, *intendere animum*.

And Mr. Steevens, in a note on *Timon of Athens*, A. ii. S. ii. proves, that to *intend* and to *attend* had anciently the same meaning;

“ And so *intending* other serious matters,”  
that is, *regarding, turning their notice to*, other things.

Ver. 465. ——— *this enterprize*

*None shall partake with me.*] The abruptness of Satan's conclusion is very well expressed by the speech breaking off in the middle of the verse. NEWTON.

Dreaded not more the adventure, than his voice  
 Forbidding ; and at once with him they rose: 475  
 Their rising all at once, was as the sound  
 Of thunder heard remote. Towards him they  
 bend

With awful reverence prone ; and as a God  
 Extol him equal to the Highest in Heaven :  
 Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd,  
 That for the general safety he despis'd 481  
 His own : For neither do the Spirits damn'd  
 Lose all their virtue ; lest bad men should boast  
 Their specious deeds on earth, which glory excites,

Ver. 476. *Their rising all at once was as the sound  
 Of thunder heard remote.*] A less correct and judicious author would have compared their rising to *loud* thunder ; but Milton compares it to thunder *heard at a distance*, which is a sound not loud or strong, but awful, and very like that produced by the movement of a great multitude. LORD MONBODDO.

Ver. 482. ——— *For neither do the Spirits damn'd  
 Lose all their virtue ;*] Dr. Newton here observes, that as Milton has drawn Satan with some remains of the beauty, so he represents him likewise with some of the other perfections, of an Archangel ; following the rule of Aristotle in his *Poeticks*, ch. xv. *That the manners should be as good as the nature of the subject would possibly admit.* For the same reason he describes the fallen Angels as not destitute of every virtue ; but displaying firm concord, and publick spirit. Dr. Pearce supposes the poet to have introduced this remark of the Devils *not losing all their virtue*, as a check to the *boasting* of bad men ; and to have had in view *Ephes. ii. 8, 9.* “ By grace ye are saved through faith ; Not of works, lest any man should boast : ” Not, that they were *saved not of works*, on purpose *lest any man should boast* ; but St. Paul puts them in mind of that, and made that remark to prevent their *boasting*.

Or close ambition, varnish'd o'er with zeal. 485  
 Thus they their doubtful consultations dark  
 Ended, rejoicing in their matchless Chief:  
 As when from mountain-tops the dusky clouds  
 Ascending, while the north-wind sleeps, o'er-  
 spread

Heaven's cheerful face, the louring element 490  
 Scowlso'er the darken'd landscape snow, or shower;  
 If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet  
 Extend his evening-beam, the fields revive,  
 The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds

Ver. 489. ——— *while the north-wind sleeps,*] So Homer expresses it, *Iliad* v. 524, ὅφρ' ἘΤΔΗΣΙ μίτος Εὐρίκτο, that wind generally clearing the sky, and dispersing the clouds. Every body must be wonderfully delighted with this similitude. The images are not more pleasing in nature, than they are refreshing to the reader after his attention to the foregoing debate.

There is a simile of the same kind in Homer, but applied upon a very different occasion, *Iliad* xvi. 297. There are also similes of the same nature in the fortieth Sonnet of Spenser, as Mr. Thyer has observed; in Boethius *De Consol.* l. i.; and in Dante's *Inferno*, c. xxiv. NEWTON.

Ver. 490. *Heaven's cheerful face,*] Spenser, *Facr. Qu.* ii. xii. 34.

“ And *heaven's cheerful face* enveloped.” THYER.

Ver. 492. *If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet  
 Extend his evening-beam,*] Perhaps this delightful passage is one of the finest instances of picturesque poetry, which can be produced. There is a pretty thought in Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*, where the rising sun “takes his last leave of the weeping morn;” but how much more natural is the farewell of the sun going down, accompanied also with the variegated scenery of Milton.

Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings. 495  
 O shame to men ! Devil with Devil damn'd  
 Firm concord holds, men only disagree  
 Of creatures rational, though under hope  
 Of heavenly grace : and, God proclaiming peace,  
 Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife, 500  
 Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,  
 Wasting the earth, each other to destroy :  
 As if (which might induce us to accord)  
 Man had not hellish foes enow besides,  
 That, day and night, for his destruction wait. 505  
 The Stygian council thus dissolv'd ; and forth  
 In order came the grand infernal peers :  
 Midst came their mighty paramount, and seem'd  
 Alone the antagonist of Heaven, nor less  
 Than Hell's dread emperour, with pomp supreme,  
 And God-like imitated state : him round 511  
 A globe of fiery Seraphim enclos'd  
 With bright emblazonry, and horrent arms.

Ver. 496. *O shame to men ! &c.*] This reflection will appear the more pertinent and natural, when one considers the contentious age, in which Milton lived and wrote. THYER.

Ver. 512. *A globe of fiery Seraphim*] A *globe* signifies here a battalion in circle surrounding him, as Virgil says, *Æn.* x. 373.

——— “ *quà globus ille virum densissimus urget.*”

NEWTON.

So, in *Par. Reg.* B. iv. 581, “ a fiery *globe* of angels.”

Ver. 513. ————— *horrent arms.*] *Horrent* includes the idea both of *terrible* and *prickly*; *set up*, like the bristles of a wild boar. Virgil, *Æn.* i. “ *Horrentia Martia arma.*” And *Æn.* x. 178. “ *Horrentibus hastis.*” NEWTON.

Then of their session ended they bid cry  
 With trumpets regal sound the great result : 515  
 Towards the four winds four speedy Cherubim  
 Put to their mouths the sounding alchemy,  
 By herald's voice explain'd ; the hollow abyfs  
 Heard far and wide, and all the host of Hell 519  
 With deafening shout return'd them loud acclaim.  
 Thence more at ease their minds, and somewhat  
 rais'd

By false presumptuous hope, the ranged Powers  
 Disband, and, wandering, each his several way  
 Pursues, as inclination or sad choice 524  
 Leads him perplex'd, where he may likeliest find  
 Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain  
 The irksome hours, till his great Chief return.  
 Part on the plain, or in the air sublime,  
 Upon the wing, or in swift race contend,  
 As at the Olympian games or Pythian fields ; 530  
 Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal

Ver. 517. ———— *the sounding alchemy*] *Alchemy*  
 here means any *mixed metal*, as in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*,  
 c. vii. st. 39.

“ Such were his arms, false gold, true *alchemy*. ”

Ver. 527. ———— *till his great chief return.*] So it is in  
 the first edition : In the second, and some others, it is “ till *this*  
 great chief return ; ” which is manifestly an error of the press.  
 NEWTON.

Ver. 531. *Part curb their fiery steeds, &c.*] These *warlike*  
 diversions of the fallen Angels, during the absence of Satan,  
 seem to be copied from the *military exercises* of the Myrmidons,  
 during the absence of their chief from the war, Homer, *Il.* ii.

With rapid wheels, or fronted brigades form.  
 As when, to warn proud cities, war appears  
 Wag'd in the troubled sky, and armies rush  
 To battle in the clouds, before each van 535  
 Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their  
       spears  
 Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms  
 From either end of Heaven the welkin burns.  
 Others, with vast Typhœan rage more fell,

774; only the images are raised in proportion to the nature of the Beings who are here described. We may suppose too, that Milton had an eye to the diversions and entertainments of the departed heroes in Virgil's Elysium, *Æn.* vi. 642, &c.

NEWTON.

Ver. 531. ————— or *shun the goal*

*With rapid wheels,*] Plainly taken from Horace,

*Od.* I. i. 4.

“ *Metâque fervidis evitata rotis.*”

But with good judgement he says *rapid*, not *fervid*: because in these Hell-games both the wheels, and the burning marle they drove on, were *fervid* even before the race. BENTLEY.

Ver. 534. *Wag'd in the troubled sky,*] So Shakspeare in  
*1 Hen.* IV. A. i. calls these appearances

— “ the meteors of a troubled Heaven.” NEWTON.

Ver. 536. *Prick forth the aery knights,*] *Prick forward*, on the spur, in full career; as in Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. ix. st. 22.

“ Before the rest *forth prick* the Soldan fast.”

*Ibid.* ————— and couch *their spears*] Fix them in their rests. *Couch* from *coucher* (French) to place. A rest was made in the breast of the armour, and was called a *rest* from *arrester* (French) to stay. RICHARDSON.

Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air 540  
 In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar,  
 As when Alcides, from Oechalia crown'd  
 With conquest, felt the envenom'd robe, and tore  
 Through pain up by the roots Theſſalian pines,  
 And Lichas from the top of Oeta threw. 545  
 Into the Euboick ſea. Others more mild,  
 Retreated in a ſilent valley, ſing  
 With notes angelical to many a harp  
 Their own heroick deeds and hapleſs fall  
 By doom of battle; and complain that fate 550

Ver. 540. ——— and ride the air

*In whirlwind;*] Shakspeare, *Macbeth*, A. iv. S. i.

“ Infected be the air whereon they ride.”

Ver. 542. *As when Alcides, &c.*] This madneſs of *Hercules* was a ſubject for tragedy among the ancients; but Milton has comprized the principal circumſtances in this ſimilitude, and ſeems to have copied Ovid, *Met.* ix. 136, &c. But, as Mr. Thyer rightly obſerves, Milton in this ſimile falls vaſtly ſhort of his uſual ſublimity and propriety. How much does the image of *Alcides tearing up Theſſalian pines* ſink below that of the *Angels rending up both rocks and winds, and riding the air in whirlwind!* And how faintly and inſignificantly does the alluſion end with the low circumſtance of *Lichas* being thrown into the Euboick ſea! NEWTON.

Ver. 550. ——— and complain that fate

*Free virtue ſhould enthral to force or chance.*] This

is taken from the famous diſtich of Euripides, which Brutus uſed, when he ſlew himſelf:

ὦ τλήμων Ἀριστεύη, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δὲ σὺ

ὧς ἔργον ἤσκησ' σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδάμνασας βίῃ.

In ſome places, for βίῃ *force*, it is quoted τύχη *fortune*. Milton has well comprehended both, “ enthral to *force or chance*.”

BENTLEY.



Free virtue should enthral to force or chance.  
 Their song was partial; but the harmony  
 (What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)  
 Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment 554  
 The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet,  
 (For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense,)  
 Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,  
 In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high

Ver. 554. *Suspended Hell,*] The effect of their singing is somewhat like that of Orpheus in Hell, Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 481. "The harmony suspended Hell;" but is it not much better with the parenthesis coming between? which suspends, as it were, the event; raises the reader's attention, and gives a greater force to the sentence.

—————"But the harmony  
 " (What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)  
 "Suspended Hell." NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *and took with ravishment*  
*The thronging audience.*] He remembered that charming passage in *Comus*, of the Lady's singing:

"Can any mortal mixture of earth's mould  
 "Breathe such divine *enchanted ravishment*?"

Again, of the Sirens, in the same poem:

"Who, *as they sung*, would take the prison'd soul,  
 "And *lure it in Elysium*."

And in his *Hymn on the Nativity*, of the musick of the angels,

"As all their *souls in blissful rapture took*."

Thomson has copied the phrase, *Spring*, v. 499.

"Breathes through the sense, and *takes the ravish'd soul*."

Ver. 556. *For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense,*] So, in Sylvester's *Du Bart*. 1621, p. 263.

"The *soul-charm* image of sweet eloquence."

Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,  
 Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute, 560  
 And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.  
 Of good and evil much they argued then,  
 Of happiness and final misery,  
 Passion and apathy, and glory and shame,  
 Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy : 565  
 Yet, with a pleasing forcery, could charm  
 Pain for a while or anguish, and excite  
 Fallacious hope, or arm the obdured breast  
 With stubborn patience, as with triple steel.  
 Another part, in squadrons and gross bands, 570  
 On bold adventure to discover wide  
 That dismal world, if any clime perhaps,

Ver. 559. ———— *foreknowledge, will, and fate,*

*Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,*] The

turn of the words here is admirable, and very well expresses the wanderings and mazes of their discourse. And the turn of the words is greatly improved, and rendered still more beautiful, by the addition of an epithet to each of them. NEWTON.

The studies of the schoolmen and metaphysicians are here intended, and, in v. 564, the subjects of disputation among the heathen philosophers. GILLIES.

\* Ver. 568. ———— *the obdured breast*] So it is in Milton's own editions, and not *obdurate*, as in Bentley's, Fenton's, and others. The same word is used again, B. vi. 785.

" This saw his hapless foes, but stood *obdur'd*."

NEWTON.

Ver. 569. ———— *with triple steel.*] An imitation of Horace, *Od.* I. iii. 9.

" Illi robur, et *æs triplex*

" *Circa pectus erat.*" HUME.

Might yield them easier habitation, bend  
 Four ways their flying march, along the banks  
 Of four infernal rivers, that disgorge 575  
 Into the burning lake their baleful streams;  
 Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;  
 Sad Acheron, of sorrow, black and deep;  
 Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud 579  
 Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon,  
 Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.  
 Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,  
 Lethe, the river of oblivion, rolls  
 Her watery labyrinth, whereof who drinks,  
 Forthwith his former state and being forgets, 585  
 Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.  
 Beyond this flood a frozen continent  
 Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms

Ver. 575. *Of four infernal rivers,*] Milton imitates the Greek writers, who enumerate the following rivers in hell; Styx, Acheron, Cocytus, Phlegethon, and Lethe. But the four first here join their streams in one vast lake, or *the lake of fire* as it is called in Scripture; (whence also the poet's "*fiery waves*," B. i. 184;) while the last rolls far off from the rest, as in Dante, *Inferno* c. xiv. 136, where the rivers of hell are described, with Lethe rolling at a distance.

Ver. 577. *Abhorred Styx,*] Milton has added, to his classical explanations of the names and properties of the infernal rivers, new circumstances of horror. Besides their junction in one flaming flood, he describes a *frozen continent* distinct from the region of fire; and with great propriety: Because hither the damned are brought, at certain revolutions, "from beds of raging fire to starve in ice," v. 600.—Dante has called Phlegethon from its fiery waves, "*la riviera del sangue*;" and Acheron, as Milton calls it, "*la trifida riviera*."

Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land  
 Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems 590  
 Of ancient pile; or else deep snow and ice,  
 A gulf profound, as that Serbonian bog  
 Betwixt Damiata and mount Casius old,  
 Where armies whole have sunk: The parching air  
 Burns froze, and cold performs the effect of fire,  
 Thither by harpy-footed furies hal'd, 596  
 At certain revolutions, all the damn'd  
 Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change  
 Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more  
 fierce,  
 From beds of raging fire, to starve in ice 600  
 Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine

Ver. 589. ————— *dire hail,*] Horace, *Od.* I. ii. 1.

“Jam fatis terris nivis atque diræ

“*Grandinis &c.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 592. ————— *that Serbonian bog*] Serbonis was a lake of 200 furlongs in length, and 1000 in compass, between the ancient mountain Casius and Damiata a city of Egypt on one of the more eastern mouths of the Nile. It was surrounded on all sides by hills of loose sand, which, carried into the water by high winds, so thickened the lake, as not to be distinguished from part of the continent; where whole armies have been swallowed up. Read Herodotus, lib. iii, and Lucan, *Pharſal.* viii. 539, &c.  
 HUME.

Ver. 595. *Burns froze,*] *Froze* an old word for *frosty*. The parching air *burns* with frost. So, in Virgil *Georg.* i. 93.

— “*Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat*!”

and in *Ecclus* xlii. 20, 21. “When the cold north-wind bloweth, it devoureth the mountains, and burneth the wilderness, and consumeth the grass as fire.” NEWTON.



Immoveable, infix'd, and frozen round,  
Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.

Ver. 603. ——— *thence hurried back to fire.*] This circumstance of the damned's suffering the extremes of heat and cold by turns, seems to be founded upon *Job* xxiv. 19, not as it is in the English translation, but in the vulgar Latin version, which Milton often used: "*Ad nimium calorem transeat ab aquis nivium*; Let him pass to *excessive heat* from *waters of snow*." And so Jerome and other commentators understand it. The same punishments after death, are mentioned by Shakspeare, *Meas. for Meas.* A. iii. S. i.

————— " and the delighted spirit

" To bathe in *fiery floods*, or to reside

" In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed *ice*." NEWTON.

This circumstance of the damned's feeling the fierce extremes, is also in Dante, *Inf.* c. iii. v. 86.

" I' vegno, per menarvi all' altra riva

" Nelle tenebre eterne, in *caldo e 'n gelo*."

So, in *Songes and Sonnets*, by Lord Surrey, and others, 1587, fol. 83.

" The foules, that lacked grace,

" Which lie in bitter paine,

" Are not in such a place

" As foolish folke do fayne:

" Tormented all with fire,

" And boyle in lead again —

" Then cast in *frofen pits*

" To *frese* there certain hours."

And, in Heywood's *Hierarchie of Angels*, 1635, p. 345.

" And suffer, as they sinn'd, in wrath, in *paines*

" Of *frosts*, of *fires*, of furies, whips, and chains."

In the preceding quotation from "*Songes and Sonnets*," there is evidently a sneer at the monks; from whose legendary hell, according to Mr. Warton, the punishment by cold derives its origin.

They ferry over this Lethean sound  
 Both to and fro, their sorrow to augment, 605  
 And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach  
 The tempting stream, with one small drop to lose  
 In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,  
 All in one moment, and so near the brink;  
 But Fate withstands, and to oppose the attempt 610  
 Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards  
 The ford, and of itself the water flies  
 All taste of living wight, as once it fled  
 The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on 614  
 In confus'd march forlorn, the adventurous bands  
 With shuddering horror pale, and eyes aghast,  
 View'd first their lamentable lot, and found  
 No rest: Through many a dark and dreary vale  
 They pass'd, and many a region dolorous,  
 O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp, 620  
 Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades  
 of death,

Ver. 615. *In confus'd march forlorn,*] Perhaps with the accent on the first syllable of *confus'd*; as in Waller, *At Penshurst*:

"Into fair figures, from a *confus'd* heap."

So, in Marvell's *Poems*, Britan. and Raleigh:

"When she had spoke, a *confus'd* murmur rose."

Ver. 621. *Rocks, caves, &c.*] How exactly is the tediousness, and difficulty of their journey painted in this passage; and particularly in this rough verse, which necessarily takes up so much time and labour in pronouncing! GRAYWOOD.

There is a similar line in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 527.

"Rocks, wood, hills, caves, dale, meads, brooks, answer me;

"Infected minds infect each thing they see." —

A universe of death ; which God by curse  
 Created evil, for evil only good,  
 Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,  
 Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things, 625  
 Abominable, inutterable, and worse  
 Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,  
 Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire.

Mean while, the Adversary of God and Man,

But Milton's, as a great critick observes, are the

*Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades—of DEATH :*

“ And the idea, caused by a word, which nothing but a word  
 could annex to the others, raises a very great degree of the sub-  
 lime ; which is raised yet higher by what follows, A UNIVERSE  
 OF DEATH.” Burke, *On the Sublime and Beautiful*.

Ver. 625. ————— *all prodigious things,*] In the true  
 sense of *prodigious*, as in Heywood's *Thyestes*, 1560, in a passage  
 on the same subject :

“ Where *Gorgons* gremme, where *Harpies* are, and lothsome  
 . . . limbo lakes,

“ Where most *prodigious* vgly things the hollow hell doth  
 hyde, &c.” WARTON.

Ver. 628. *Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire.*] Milton  
 fixes all these monsters in hell, in imitation of Virgil, *Æn.* vi.  
 287, &c. And Tasso copies Virgil's description, *Gier. Lib.* c.  
 iv. st. 5.

“ Qui mille immonde *Arpie* vedresti, e mille

“ *Centauri*, e *Sfingi*, e pallide *Gorgoni*, &c.”

But how much better has Milton comprehended them in one line.

NEWTON.

Milton had another passage of Tasso in view, *ibid.* c. xiii.  
 st. 18.

“ Se non, che 'l timor forse à i sente *singe*

“ *Maggior prodigi* di Chimera o Sänge.”

Satan, with thoughts inflam'd of highest design,  
Puts on swift wings, and towards the gates of  
Hell

631

Explores his solitary flight : sometimes  
Hescours the right hand coast, sometimes the left ;  
Now shaves with level wing the deep, then soars  
Up to the fiery concave towering high. 635  
As when far off at sea a fleet descried

Ver. 630. *Puts on swift wings,*] So Mercury puts on his wings in Homer, *Iliad* xxiv. 340.

Αὐτὶν' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἰδύσατο καλὰ πτεῖλα.

Ver. 634. *Now shaves with level wing the deep,*] Virgil, *Æn.* v. 217.

“ Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas.”

Alluding (as Dr. Greenwood observes) to the swallow, who skims just over the surface of the water without seeming to move her wings. NEWTON.

Ver. 636. *As when far off at sea &c.*] Satan, *towering high*, is here compared to a fleet of Indiamen discovered at a distance, as it were *hanging in the clouds*, as a fleet at a distance seems to do. This is the whole of the comparison; but (as Dr. Pearce observes) Milton in his similitudes (as is the practice of Homer and Virgil too) after he has showed the common resemblance, often takes the liberty of wandering into some unressembling circumstances; which have no other relation to the comparison, than that it gave him the hint, and as it were set fire to the train of his imagination. But Dr. Bentley asks, why a *fleet* when a first rate man of war would do? And Dr. Pearce answers, Because a fleet gives a nobler image than a single ship. Besides, Milton would have been inconsistent with himself (says Dr. Greenwood) and have sunk greatly in his comparison, if he had likened the appearance of Satan to a single ship, though of the first rate; because he had said before, B. i. 195. that, *extended long and large, he lay floating many a rood*; and again ver. 292.



Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds  
 Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles  
 Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring  
 Their spicy drugs; they, on the trading flood, 640  
 Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape,  
 Ply stemming nightly toward the pole: So seem'd  
 Far off the flying Fiend. At last appear  
 Hell bounds, high reaching to the horrid roof,  
 And thrice three-fold the gates; three folds were  
 brags, 645

that the tallest pine, for *the mast of some great ammiral*, was no bigger than a wand in proportion to his spear. This fleet is a fleet of Indiamen, because, coming from so long a voyage, it is the fitter to be compared to Satan in this expedition; and these exotick games (as Dr. Bentley calls them) give a less vulgar cast to the similitude than places in our own channel, and in our own seas, would have done. This fleet is described, by *equinoctial winds*, the trade winds blowing about the equinoctial, *close sailing*, and therefore more proper to be compared to a single person, from *Bengala*, a kingdom and city in the East-Indies subject to the great Mogul, or *the isles of Ternate and Tidore*, two of the Molucca islands in the East Indian sea whence merchants bring their *spicy drugs*, the most famous spices being brought from thence by the Dutch into Europe: *they on the trading flood*; as the winds are called *trade-winds*, so he calls the flood *trading*, *through the wide Ethiopian sea to the Cape of Good Hope*, *ply stemming nightly toward the pole*, that is, by night they sail northward, and yet (as Dr. Peatce says) by day their fleet may be described *hanging in the clouds*. *So seem'd far off the flying Fiend*: Dr. Bentley asks, whom Satan appeared to *far off*, in this his *solitary flight*? But what a cold phlegmatick piece of criticism is this? It may be answered, that he was seen by the Muse, and would have seem'd so to any one who had seen him. Poets often speak in this manner, and make themselves and their readers present to the most remote and retired scenes of action. NEWTON.

Three iron, three of adamantine rock  
 Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire,  
 Yet unconsum'd. Before the gates there sat  
 On either side a formidable shape;

Ver. 646. ————— adamantine rock] So, in Sylvester's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 83.

"In Destinie's hard *diamantine rock*."

Ver. 647. ————— *impal'd with circling fire*,] Perhaps Milton might take the hint of this circumstance from his favourite romances, where we frequently meet with the gates of enchanted castles thus *impal'd with circling fire*. THYER.

Ver. 648. ————— *Before the gates there sat &c.*] Here begins the famous allegory of Milton, which is a sort of paraphrase on St. James, i. 15. "*Then, when Lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth Sin, and Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth Death.*" The first part of the allegory says only, that Satan's intended voyage was dangerous to his being, and that he resolved however to venture. RICHARDSON.

Sir William Blackstone was of opinion, that Milton might possibly have taken the hint of this allegory from a passage in Shakspeare's *Richard the third*:

"*Sin, death, and hell, have set their marks on him;*

"*And all their ministers attend on him.*"

Mr. Holt White observes, that Milton might as probably catch the hint from the following passage in Latimer's *Sermons*, 1584, fol. 79. "*Here came in death and hell, sinne was their mother. Therefore they must have such an image as their mother sinne would geue them.*" Steevens's Shakspeare, 1793, vol. x. p. 504.

It is probable that Milton commenced this famous allegory, with an allusion to Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 574.

—————"Cernis, custodia qualis

"Vestibulo sedeat? facies quæ limina servet?"

"Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra

"Sævior intus habet sedem."

The one seem'd woman to the waift, and fair; 650  
But ended foul in many a scaly fold

Ver. 650. *The one seem'd woman to the waift, &c.*] Dr. Newton thinks that Milton might here have in mind Spenser's description of *Error* in the mixed shape of a woman and a serpent, *Faery Queen*, i. i. 14; and also of *Echidna*, vi. vi. 10, who, like Hesiod's Echidna, is described half-woman and half-serpent.

And Mr. Warton supposes, that this formidable *shape of Sin* derived its conformation from Dante's description of the monster Geryon; a monster, having the face of a man with a mild and benign aspect, but his human form ending in a serpent with a voluminous tail of immense length, terminated by a sting, which he brandishes like a scorpion, *Inferno* c. xvii. The subject of Dante is also a fabulous hell. See Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 244.

But, perhaps, Milton rather had in view P. Fletcher's description of *Hamartia*, or *Sin* personified, creeping from the Dragon's maw, *Purp. Island*, 1633, c. xii. st. 27.

" The first, that crept from his detested maw,  
" Was *Hamartia*, foul, deformed wight;  
" More foul, deform'd, the funne yet never saw;  
" Therefore she hates the all-betraying light:  
" *A woman seem'd she in her upper part*;  
" To which she could such lying glosses impart,  
" That thousands she had slain with her deceiving art.

28.

" The rest, though hid, in serpent's form arrayd,  
" With iron scales, like to a plaited mail:  
" Over her back her knotty tail displaid,  
" Along the empty aire did lofty saile:  
" The end was pointed with a double sting,  
" Which with such dreaded might she wont to sting,  
" That nought could help the wound, but blood of heavenly King."

Milton, however, has here drawn, as usual, his emphatical expressions from Scripture; for, *Sin's mortal sting* is from 1 Cor. xv. 56, as, afterwards, *Death's kingly crown* is from Rev. vi. 2.

Voluminous and vast ; a serpent arm'd  
 With mortal sting : About her middle round  
 A cry of Hell-hounds never ceasing bark'd 654  
 With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung  
 A hideous peal ; yet, when they list, would creep,  
 If aught disturb'd their noise, into her womb,  
 And kennel there ; yet there still bark'd and  
 howl'd,

Within unseen. Far less abhorr'd than these  
 Vex'd Scylla, bathing in the sea that parts 660  
 Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore :  
 Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when, call'd  
 In secret, riding through the air she comes,  
 Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance 664  
 With Lapland witches, while the labouring moon

Ver. 654. *A cry of Hell-hounds*] I may be ignorant of the hunter's language ; but I should believe he gave it, " *A crue of Hell-hounds.*" BENTLEY.

*A cry of hounds* is certainly the language of English poetry. Thus, in the *Midf. Night's Dream*, of the dogs of Theseus,

—————" *A cry more tuneable*  
 " *Was never hallo'd to, nor cheer'd with horn.*"

See also Sylvester's *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 461.

" *A cry of hounds* have here a deer in chace."

Ver. 660. *Vex'd Scylla, &c.*] This story of Scylla is at the beginning of the fourteenth book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. The *Cerberean mouths* in Milton, is plainly *after the Cerberos ridens* in Ovid. NEWTON.

Ver. 665. ———— *the labouring moon*] The Ancients believed the moon greatly affected by magical practices, and the Latin poets call the eclipses of the moon *labores lunæ*. The three

Eclipses at their charms. The other shape,  
 If shape it might be call'd that shape had none  
 Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;  
 Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,  
 For each seem'd either; black it stood as Night,

foregoing lines, and the former part of this, contain a short account of what was once believed, and in Milton's time not so ridiculous as now. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 666. *The other shape, &c.*] This poetical description of Death Milton has pretty evidently borrowed from Spenser, *Faery Queen*, vii. vii. 46.

“ But after all came Life, and lastly *Death*;

“ *Death* with most grim and grisly visage seen.

“ Yet is he nought but parting of the breath,

“ Ne aught to see, but like a shade to ween,

“ Unbodied, unsoul'd, unheard, unseen.” *THYER.*

In Milton's painting, however, the imitation is adorned with new graces; with those masterly touches of horrible magnificence, which perhaps only the hand of Milton could delineate.

Dr. J. Warton is of opinion, that the *person of Death* is clearly and obviously taken from the ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ of Euripides, in his tragedy of *Alceſtis*. But, perhaps, the circumstance of *Death's* being a *person* in the *Adamo* of Andreini, might now forcibly occur to Milton's memory. *Death* is also a *person* in the old *Morality of Every Man*, published early in the reign of Henry the eighth; and in the tragedy of *Soliman and Perseda*, published in 1599. See also note, *Eleg.* i. 92.

Ver. 670. ——— *black it stood as Night, &c.*] Like the ghost described in Homer, *Odysſ.* xi. 605.

————— Ὅ δ' ἱερμῇ νυκτὶ τοιαύτῃ

Γυμνοὶ τέξον ἴχθυος καὶ ἐπὶ νύμφῃσι δίστον,

Δαίμονας παρ' αἰώνων, αἰεὶ βαλόντι τοιαύτως. *NEWTON.*

And, as Fairfax translates Tasso's description of the infernal spirit, B. xvi. st. 68.

“ A shadow, blacker than the mirkest night,

“ Environ'd all the place, &c.”

Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell, 671  
 And shook a dreadful dart; what seem'd his head  
 The likeness of a kingly crown had on.  
 Satan was now at hand, and from his seat  
 The monster moving onward came as fast 675  
 With horrid strides; Hell trembled as he strode.  
 The undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,  
 Admir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except,

Ver. 675. *The monster moving onward &c.*] Milton's description of Death is much superiour to Spenser's Orgoglio, to which it bears some resemblance, *Faer. Qu.* i. vii. 8.

————— "His monstrous enemy  
 "With sturdy steps came stalking in his sight,  
 "An hideous Giant, horrible and hie,  
 "That with his talnefs seemd to threat the skie;  
 "The ground eke groned under him for dreed."

BOWLE.

Ver. 676. ————— *Hell trembled as he strode.*] So Pope, *Iliad* vii. 255.

"Thus march'd the chief, tremendous as a god;  
 "Grimly he smil'd; Earth trembled as he strode."

Ver. 678. ————— *God and his Son except,*  
*Created thing nought valued he, nor shunn'd;*] This appears at first sight to reckon God and his Son among created things; but *except* is here used with the same liberty as *but* v. 333, and v. 336: And Milton has a like passage in his *Prose-Works*, 1638, vol. i. p. 277. "No place in Heaven or Earth, *except* Hell, where Charity may not enter." RICHARDSON.

*Except* is rather a verb of the imperative mode; as if the poet had said, "*Include not* God and his Son among the objects whom he did not fear: *Them* he did fear; but *created* thing he valued not." So *except* is used in Shakespeare, *Rich.* 111. A. v. S. iii.

"Richard *except*, those, whom we fight against,  
 "Had rather have us win, than him they follow."

Created thing nought valued he, nor shunn'd;  
And with disdainful look thus first began. 680

Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,  
That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance  
Thy miscreated front athwart my way  
To yonder gates? through them I mean to pass,  
That be assur'd, without leave ask'd of thee: 685  
Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,  
Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heaven.

To whom the goblin full of wrath replied.  
Art thou that traitor-Angel, art thou He,  
Who first broke peace in Heaven, and faith, till  
then 690

Unbroken; and in proud rebellious arms  
Drew after him the third part of Heaven's sons  
Conjur'd against the Highest; for which both thou

Ver. 683. *Thy miscreated front*] We have been told, that Milton first coined the word *miscreated*; but Spenser used it before him, *Faer. Qu.* i. ii. 3.

"Eftsoons he took that *miscreated* fair."

Again, ii. vii. 42.

"Nor mortal steel empierce his *miscreated* mould."

BENTLEY.

Ver. 684. ———— *through them I mean to pass, &c.*] Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* iii. iv. 15.

————— "I mean not thee intreat

"To pass, but, maugre thee, will pass, or die."

JORTIN.

Ver. 693. *Conjur'd against the Highest;*] *Banded, and leagued together*; of the Latin *conjurare*, to bind one another by oath to be true and faithful in a design undertaken: Virg. *Georg.* i. 280.

"*Et conjuratos cælum rescindere fratres.*" HUMS.

And they, outcast from God, are here condemn'd  
To waste eternal days in woe and pain ? 695  
And reckon'st thou thyself with Spirits of Heaven,  
Hell-doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and  
scorn,

Where I reign king, and, to enrage thee more,  
Thy king and lord ? Back to thy punishment,  
False fugitive, and to thy speed add wings, 700  
Lest with a whip of scorpions I pursue  
Thy lingering, or with one stroke of this dart  
Strange horror seize thee, and pangs unfelt before.

So spake the grisly Terror, and in shape,  
So speaking and so threatening, grew ten-fold 705  
More dreadful and deform. On the other side,  
Incens'd with indignation, Satan stood  
Unterrified, and like a comet burn'd,

Ver. 697. *Hell-doom'd,*] As Satan had called Death *hell-born*, v. 687, Death returns it by calling Satan *hell-doom'd*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 700. *False fugitive,*] He is here called *false*, because he had called himself a *Spirit of Heaven*. Compare v. 687 with v. 696. PEARCE.

Ver. 708. ——— and like a comet burn'd, &c.] The ancient poets frequently compare a hero in his shining armour to a comet ; as Virg. *Æn.* x. 272.

“ Non fecus ac liquidà si quando nocte cometæ

“ Sanguinei lugubre rubent”——

BUT this comet is so large as to fire the length of the constellation *Ophiuchus* or *Anguitenens*, or *Serpentarius* as it is commonly called, a length of about 40 degrees, in the arctic sky, or the northern hemisphere, and from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war. Poetry delights in omens, prodigies, and such wonderful



That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge  
 In the arctick sky, and from his horrid hair 710  
 Shakes pestilence and war. Each at the head  
 Levell'd his deadly aim; their fatal hands  
 No second stroke intend; and such a frown  
 Each cast at the other, as when two black clouds,

events, as were supposed to follow upon the appearance of comets, eclipses, and the like. We have another instance of this nature in B. i. 598; and Tasso in the same manner compares Argantes to a comet, and mentions the like fatal effects, c. vii. st. 52.

“ Qual con le chiome sanguinose horrende

“ Splendor cometa fuol per l'aria adusta,

“ Che i regni muta, e i feri morbi adduce,

“ A i purpurei tiranni infausta luce.” NEWTON.

Pope has translated Homer's simile in Milton's language, *Iliad* xix. 412.

“ Like the red star, that from his flaming hair

“ Shakes down diseases, pestilence, and war.”

Ver. 714. ——— as when two black clouds, &c.] It is highly probable, that Milton took the hint of this noble simile from one of the same sort in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, though it must be owned that he has excelled the Italian much, both in the variety of its circumstances, and the propriety of its application. Boiardo is describing an encounter betwixt Orlando his hero, and the Tartar king Agricane, and begins it thus, B. i. c. 16.

“ Se vediste insieme mai scontrar dua toni

“ Da Levante a Ponente al ciel diverso,

“ Così proprio s'urtar quei dua baroni.” THYER.

There is another fine description, in the same book, of two combatants, thus illustrated: c. ii. st. 4.

“ Chi vide mai nel bosco due leoni

“ Turbati insieme, ed a battaglia presi;

“ O ver sentir nell' aria due gran toni,

With Heaven's artillery fraught, come rattling on  
 Over the Caspian, then stand front to front, 716  
 Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow  
 To join their dark encounter in mid air :  
 So frown'd the mighty combatants, that Hell  
 Grew darker at their frown ; so match'd they  
 stood ; 720

For never but once more was either like  
 To meet so great a foe : And now great deeds  
 Had been achiev'd, whereof all Hell had rung,  
 Had not the snaky forcerefs, that sat  
 Fast by Hell-gate, and kept the fatal key, 725  
 Ris'n, and with hideous outcry rush'd between.

" *Che vengay con tempeste in foco accesi ;*

" *Nulla farebbe al par di quei baroni,*

" *Tanto crudel si sono quivi offesi,*

" *E par che il ciel paventi, &c."*

Ver. 715. — *Heaven's artillery*] Thunder. Juv. Sat. xiii. 9.

" *Quicquid habent telorum armamentaria cæli.*" HUME.

As in Shakspeare, *Tam. of the Shrew*, A. i. S. ii.

" Have I not heard great ordnance in the field,

" *And heaven's artillery thunder in the skies ?*"

So Crashaw, *Sacred Poems*, 1652, p. 105. "*Heaven's great artillery.*" And Habington, *Castara*, 1635, p. 53. "*The loude artillery of heaven.*"

Ver. 716. *Over the Caspian,*] With great judgement did the poet take this simile from the *Caspian* ; for that sea is remarkably tempestuous. See "*Purchas his Pilgrimes*," Part iii. p. 241. And Horace, *Od.* II. ix. 2. BOWLE.

Ver. 722. — *so great a foe :*] Jesus Christ, who, as it follows v. 734, will one day destroy both *Death*, and "*him*" that has the power of death, that is, *the Devil*," Heb. ii. 14.

NEWTON.

O Father, what intends thy hand, she cried,  
Against thy only Son? What fury, O Son,  
Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart  
Against thy Father's head? and know'st for  
whom;

730

For him who sits above and laughs the while  
At thee ordain'd his drudge, to execute  
Whate'er his wrath, which he calls justice, bids;  
His wrath, which one day will destroy ye both.

She spake, and at her words the hellish Pest 735  
Forbore; then these to her Satan return'd.

So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange  
Thou interposest, that my sudden hand,  
Prevented, spares to tell thee yet by deeds  
What it intends; till first I know of thee, 740  
What thing thou art, thus double-form'd; and  
why,

In this infernal vale first met, thou call'st  
Me Father, and that phantasm call'st my Son:  
I know thee not, nor ever saw till now  
Sight more detestable than him and thee. 745

Ver. 729. ————— to bend that mortal dart

Against thy father's head?] Spenser, *Faer. Qu.*  
iii. i. 5.

"And bent his dreadful speare against the other's head."

Ver. 730. ————— and know'st for whom;]

Tickell reads these words with a note of interrogation; but Milton's own editions read them with a semi-colon; the passage being perhaps elliptical, and meaning, as Dr. Newton observes, "at the same time that thou knowest for whom."

To whom thus the Portrefs of Hell-gate replied.  
 Haft thou forgot me then, and do I seem  
 Now in thine eye fo foul? once deem'd fo fair  
 In Heaven, when at the affembly, and in fight  
 Of all the Seraphim with thee combin'd. '750  
 In bold confpiracy againft Heaven's King,  
 All on a fudden miserable pain  
 Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy fwum  
 In darknefs, while thy head flames thick and faft  
 Threw forth; till, on the left fide opening wide,  
 Likeft to thee in fhape and countenance bright, 756  
 Then fhining heavenly fair, a goddefs arm'd,  
 Out of thy head I fprung: Amazement feis'd  
 All the hoft of Heaven; back they recoil'd afraid  
 At firft, and call'd me *Sin*, and for a fign 760  
 Portentous held me; but, familiar grown,  
 I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won

Ver. 746. *To whom thus the Portrefs of Hell-gate*] So, in P. Fletcher's *Locusts*, ed. 1627. p. 34.

"The Porter to th' infernall gate is *Sin*,  
 "A fhapeleffe fhape, a foul deformed thing,  
 "Nor nothing, nor a fubftance, &c."

Ver. 758. *Out of thy head I fprung*:] *Sin* is rightly made to fpring out of the head of Satan, as Wifdom or Minerva did out of Jupiter's: And Milton describes the birth of the one very much in the fame manner, as the ancient poets have defcribed that of the other, particularly the author of the Hymn to Minerva vulgarly afcribed to Homer. And what follows, feems to be an hint improved upon Minerva's being ravifhed foon after her birth by Vulcan, as we may learn from Lucian, *Dial. Vulcani et Jovis*, & De Domo. NEWTON,



The most averſe, thee chiefly, who full oft  
 Thyſelf in me thy perfect image viewing  
 Becam'ſt enamour'd, and ſuch joy thou took'ſt 765  
 With me in ſecret, that my womb conceiv'd  
 A growing burden. Mean while war aroſe,  
 And fields were fought in Heaven; wherein  
 remain'd

(For what could elſe ?) to our Almighty Foe  
 Clear victory; to our part loſs and rout, 770  
 Through all the empyréan: down they fell  
 Driven headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down  
 Into this deep; and in the general fall  
 I alſo; at which time, this powerful key  
 Into my hand was given, with charge to keep 775  
 Theſe gates for ever ſhut, which none can paſs  
 Without my opening. Penſive here I ſat  
 Alone; but long I ſat not, till my womb,  
 Pregnant by thee, and now exceſſive grown,  
 Prodigious motion felt, and rueful throes. 780  
 At laſt this odious offspring whom thou ſeeſt,  
 Thine own begotten, breaking violent way  
 Tore through my entrails, that, with fear and pain  
 Diſtorted, all my nether ſhape thus grew  
 Transform'd: But he my inbred enemy 785

Ver. 771. *Through all the empyréan:*] So Milton pronounces the word, with the accent always on the third ſyllable; but *empyrean*, always with the accent on the ſecond. Dr. Heylin ſuppoſes, that the word *empyrean* is falſe ſpelt, and that it ought to be written *empyrial*, *ἐμπυριαλ* in Greek, and *empyrean*, *ἐμπυριαν*,

NEWTON.

Forth issued, brandishing his fatal dart  
 Made to destroy ! I fled, and cried out *Death !*  
 Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sigh'd  
 From all her caves, and back resounded *Death !*  
 I fled ; but he pursued, (though more, it seems,  
 Inflam'd with lust than rage,) and, swifter far, 791  
 Me overtook his mother all dismay'd,  
 And in embraces forcible and foul  
 Ingendering with me, of that rape begot  
 These yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry 795  
 Surround me, as thou saw'st, hourly conceiv'd  
 And hourly born, with sorrow infinite  
 To me ; for, when they list, into the womb  
 That bred them they return, and howl and gnaw  
 My bowels, their repast ; then bursting forth 800  
 Afresh with conscious terrors vex me round,  
 That rest or intermission none I find.  
 Before mine eyes in opposition fits  
 Grim Death, my son and foe ; who sets them on,  
 And me his parent would full soon devour 805  
 For want of other prey, but that he knows

Ver. 786. ———— *brandishing his fatal dart*] Virgil, *Æn.*  
 xii. 919. “ *Telum fatale coruscet.*” HUME.

Ver. 789. *From all her caves, and back resounded*] Virgil,  
*Æn.* ii. 53.

“ *Insonuere cavæ, gemitumque dedere cavernæ.*”

HUME.

Ibid. ———— *Death !*] The repetition  
 of *Death* here, is a beauty of the same kind as that of the name  
 of *Eurydice* in Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 525 ; and of *Hylas*, *Ecl.* vi. 43.

NEWTON.

His end with mine involv'd; and knows that I  
 Should prove a bitter morfel, and his bane,  
 Whenever that shall be; so Fate pronounc'd.  
 But thou, O Father, I forewarn thee, shun 810  
 His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope  
 To be invulnerable in those bright arms,  
 Though temper'd heavenly; for, that mortal dint,  
 Save he who reigns above, none can resist.

She finish'd; and the subtle Fiend his lore 815  
 Soon learn'd, now milder, and thus answer'd  
 smooth.

Dear Daughter, since thou claim'st me for thy fire,  
 And my fair son here show'st me, the dear pledge  
 Of dalliance had with thee in Heaven, and joys  
 Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire  
 change 820

Befall'n us, unforeseen, unthought of; know,  
 I come no enemy, but to set free

Ver. 809. ————— *so Fate pronounc'd.*] The heathen poets make Jupiter superiour to Fate: The will of Jupiter was performed, says Homer, *Iliad* i. 5. See also Virgil, *Æn.* iiii. 375, and iv. 614. But Milton, with great propriety, makes the fallen Angels and Sin here attribute events to Fate, without any mention of the Supreme Being. NEWTON.

Ver. 813. ————— *that mortal dint,*] *Dint*, formerly spelt *dent*, a *stroke* or *blow*: "*Dent* of sword," *Barret's Alvearie*, 1580: "*Dent* of dart," *Chaucer*.

Ver. 817. *Dear Daughter,*] Satan had now learned his *lore*, or *lesson*; and the reader will observe how artfully he changes his language: He had said before v. 745, that he had never seen *fight more detestable*; but now it is, *dear daughter*, and *fair son*.

NEWTON.

From out this dark and dismal house of pain  
 Both him and thee, and all the heavenly host  
 Of Spirits, that, in our just pretences arm'd, 825  
 Fell with us from on high : From them I go  
 This uncouth errand sole ; and one for all  
 Myself expose, with lonely steps to tread  
 The unfounded deep, and through the void  
                   immense 829

To search with wandering quest a place foretold  
 Should be, and, by concurring signs, ere now  
 Created vast and round, a place of bliss  
 In the pourlieus of Heaven, and therein plac'd  
 A race of upstart creatures, to supply 834  
 Perhaps our vacant room ; though more remov'd,  
 Left Heaven, furcharg'd with potent multitude,  
 Might hap to move new broils. Be this or aught  
 Than this more secret now design'd, I haste  
 To know ; and, this once known, shall soon  
                   return,

And bring<sup>st</sup> ye to the place where Thou and Death  
 Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen 841  
 Wing silently the buxom air, imbalm'd

Ver. 842. *Wing silently the buxom air,*] *Buxom* is vulgarly understood for *merry*, *wanton* ; but it properly signifies *flexible*, *yielding*, from a Saxon word signifying to *bend*. Thus Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 37.

“ And therewith scourge the *buxom* air so fore.”

NEWTON. \*

Milton repeats the phrase, B. v. 270. It is also used by Browne, *Brit. Past.* B. i. S. v ; and by Niccols, *Mir. for Magistrates*, 1610. p. 826.



With odours ; there ye shall be fed and fill'd  
Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey.

He ceas'd, for both seem'd highly pleas'd, and

Death

845

Grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile, to hear

Ver. 843. ——— there ye shall be fed and fill'd] *Psalms*  
xlix. 14. "Death shall feed on them." GILLIES.

Ver. 846. *Grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile,*] Several poets  
have endeavoured to express much the same image. Thus Homer  
says of Ajax, *Il.* vii. 212.

Μαδιόων βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι.

And Statius, of Tydeus, *Theb.* viii. 582. "*formidabile ridens.*"

And Cowley of Goliath, *David's*, B. iii.

"The uncircumcis'd smil'd grimly with disdain."

And, as Mr. Thyer observes, Ariosto and Tasso express it very  
prettily thus, *Aspramente sorrise* and *Sorriso amaramente*. But I  
believe it will be readily allowed, that Milton has greatly ex-  
ceeded them all. NEWTON.

Spenser mentions Grantorto's "*grinning grisly,*" *F. Q.* v.  
xii. 16, much inferior to Milton's expression. BOWLE.

If Milton had any preceding writer in view, I suspect it  
might be Fletcher, who, in his *Wife for a Month*, has these re-  
markable lines ;

"The game of *Death* was never play'd more nobly ;

"The meager thief grew wanton in his mischiefs,

"And his *brunk hollow eyes* smil'd on his ruin."

The word *ghastly*, I would observe, gives the precise idea of  
*brunk hollow eyes*, and looks as if Milton, in admiration of his  
original, had only looked out for an *epithet* to *Death's* smile, as  
he found it pictured in Fletcher. HURD.

\* The reader may also compare Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, ed. fol.  
1621. p. 1015.

"One, *grinning gaffly*, in his visage grim,

"Shows, *dead*, the rage that living sweld in him ;"

His famine should be fill'd ; and blest his maw  
Destin'd to that good hour : No less rejoic'd  
His mother bad, and thus bespake her fire.

The key of this infernal pit by due, 850  
And by command of Heaven's all-powerful King  
I keep, by him forbidden to unlock  
These adamantine gates ; against all force  
Death ready stands to interpose his dart,  
Fearless to be o'ermatch'd by living might. 855  
But what owe I to his commands above  
Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down  
Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,  
To sit in hateful office here confin'd,  
Inhabitant of Heaven, and heavenly-born, 860

Here is a small resemblance to Milton's phraseology. And in G. Wither's *Emblems*, fol. 1635, there is a faint shadow of his picture : *Death* ; the emblem, a *Skeleton*, B. i. Illustr. viii.

" Note those leane craggs, and, with what *gafliness*  
" That *horrid countenance* doth seem to grin."

It may be added also of Cowley, that, in his *Davidis*, B. ii. the devils "*with a dreadful smile deform'dly grin*," But all these illustrations only serve to show the inimitable strength of Milton's fine expression, *Death grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile* !

Ver, 855. *Fearless to be o'ermatch'd by living might*.] In some editions it is living *awight*, that is, *creature* ; and we have *living awight* before, ver. 613 : and this is likewise Dr. Bentley's reading, for *living might*, says he, would not except even God himself, the Ever-living and the Almighty. But God himself must necessarily be excepted here ; for it was by his command that Sin and Death sat to guard the gates, and therefore *living might* cannot possibly be understood of God, but of any one else who should endeavour to force a passage. NEWTON.

Here in perpetual agony and pain,  
 With terrours and with clamours compass'd round  
 Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed?  
 Thou art my father, thou my author, thou  
 My being gav'st me; whom should I obey 865  
 But thee? whom follow? thou wilt bring me soon  
 To that new world of light and bliss, among  
 The Gods who live at ease, where I shall reign  
 At thy right hand voluptuous, as befits  
 Thy daughter and thy darling, without end. 870  
 Thus saying, from her side the fatal key,  
 Sad instrument of all our woe, she took;  
 And, towards the gate rolling her bestial train,  
 Forthwith the huge portcullis high up drew,  
 Which but herself, not all the Stygian Powers 875

Ver. 868. *The Gods who live at ease,*] Word for word from Homer, *Οἱοὶ παῖα ἑώρτις*. BENTLEY.

It is Sin who speaks here, and she speaks as an Epicurean.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 871. *Thus saying, from her side &c.*] It is one great part of a poet's art to know when to describe things in general, and when to be very circumstantial and particular. Milton has in these lines showed his judgement in this respect. The first opening of the gates of Hell by Sin, is an incident of that importance, that, if I can guess by my own, every reader's attention must be greatly excited, and consequently as highly gratified by the minute detail of particulars our author has given us. It may with justice be farther observed, that, in no part of the poem, the versification is better accommodated to the sense. *The drawing up of the portcullis, the turning of the key, the sudden shooting of the bolts, and the flying open of the doors,* are in some sort described by the very break and sound of the verses.

TAYLOR,

Could once have mov'd; then in the key-hole turns  
 The intricate wards, and every bolt and bar  
 Of massy iron or solid rock with ease  
 Unfastens: On a sudden open fly  
 With impetuous recoil and jarring sound 880  
 The infernal doors, and on their hinges grate  
 Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook  
 Of Erebus. She open'd, but to shut  
 Excell'd her power; the gates wide open stood,  
 That with extended wings a banner'd host, 885  
 Under spread ensigns marching, might pass  
 through  
 With horse and chariots rank'd in loose array;  
 So wide they stood, and like a furnace mouth  
 Cast forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.  
 Before their eyes in sudden view appear 890  
 The secrets of the hoary deep; a dark

Ver. 881. ————— *on their hinges grate*

*Harsh thunder,*] Dr. Johnson has observed, that this expression is copied from the history of Don Bellianis. I have been informed by Mr. Walker, that the remark was made by Swift, in the margin of his copy of *Paradise Lost*, and with the following accuracy: "Don Bell. Part ii. ch. 19. *Open flew the brazen folding doors, grating harsh thunder on their turning hinges.*"

Ver. 882. ————— *the lowest bottom shook*

*Of Erebus.*] The most profound depth of hell. Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 471, "Erebi de sedibus imis." HUME.

Ver. 891. *The secrets of the hoary deep;*] Job, xli. 32.

\* "One would think the deep to be hoary." GILLIES.

So Catullus, *De Nupt. Pel. & Thet.* v. 13.

"Tortaque remigio spumis incanuit unda."

Illimitable ocean, without bound,  
 Without dimension, where length, breadth, and  
     highth,  
 And time, and place, are lost; where eldest Night  
 And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold 895  
 Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise  
 Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.  
 For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four champions  
     fierce,

Ver. 894. ————— *where eldest Night*

*And Chaos, &c.]* All the ancient naturalists, philosophers, and poets, hold that *Chaos* was the first principle of all things; and the poets particularly make *Night* a Goddess, and represent *Night* or darkness, and *Chaos* or confusion, as exercising uncontrouled dominion from the beginning. Thus Orpheus, in the beginning of his hymn to Night, addresses her as the mother of the Gods and Men, and origin of all things. See also Spenser in imitation of the Ancients, *Fairy Queen*, B. i. c. 5. st. 22. And Milton's system of the universe is in short, that the empyrean Heaven, and Chaos, and darkness, were before the creation, Heaven above and Chaos beneath; and then, upon the rebellion of the Angels, *first*, *Hell* was formed out of Chaos *stretching far and wide beneath*; and afterwards, *Heaven and Earth, another world, hanging o'er the realm of Chaos, and won from his dominion*. See ver. 1002, &c. and 978.

NEWTON.

Ver. 898. *For hot, cold, moist, and dry, &c.]* Ovid. *Met.* i. 19.

“Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia ficcis,

“Mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus.”

The reader may compare this whole description of Chaos with Ovid's, and he will easily see how the Roman poet has lessened \* the grandeur of his by puerile conceits, and quaint antitheses: Every thing in Milton is great and masterly. NEWTON.

Strive here for mastery, and to battle bring  
 Their embryo atoms; they around the flag 900  
 Of each his faction, in their several clans,  
 Light-arm'd or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or  
 slow,  
 Swarm populous, 'un-number'd as the sands  
 Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,  
 Levied to strife with warring winds, and poise 905  
 Their lighter wings. To whom these most adhere,  
 He rules a moment: Chaos umpire sits,

Ver. 900. *Their embryo atoms* ;] Addison says, that *embryo* is a word of Milton's coinage. But it was very common both as a substantive and adjective in the poetry of Milton's time; as in Sylvester, *Du Bart.* ed. *supr.* p. 7. "Or rather th' *embryon*." And in Donne's *Poems*, ed. 1633. p. 16.

"Into an *embryon* fish our soule is thrown."

So Massinger, *Bashful Lover*, 1655. p. 59. "What I purpose is yet an *embryon*."

And Browne, *Brit. Poet.* 1616, B. i. S. iv. "The *embryon* blossome of each spray."

Ver. 903. ————— *un-number'd as the sands*

*Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil* ;] Heylin, in his *Microcosmus*, 1627, describing *Egypt*, thus speaks of *Barca* and *Cyrene's* soil, p. 749. "This country is all over covered with a light sand, which the winds remove continually up and downe, turning valleies into hills, and hills into valleies."

Ver. 906. ————— *To whom these most adhere,*

*He rules a moment* :] The reason why any one of these four champions *rules*, though but for a *moment*, is, because the atoms of his faction *adhere most* to him. Firm dependance indeed, says Dr. Bentley, and worthy the superlative *most*, that lasts but for a *moment* ! But I should think that the less firm the dependance is, the finer image we have of such a state as that of Chaos is. PEARCE.

And by decision more embroils the fray,  
 By which he reigns : Next him high arbiter  
 Chance governs all. Into this wild abyſs 910  
 The womb of Nature, and perhaps her grave,  
 Of neither ſea, nor ſhore, nor air; nor fire,  
 But all theſe in their pregnant cauſes mix'd  
 Confus'dly, and which thus muſt ever fight,  
 \*Unleſs the Almighty Maker them ordain 915  
 His dark materials to create more worlds ;  
 Into this wild abyſs the wary Fiend  
 Stood on the brink of Hell, and look'd a while,

Ver. 910. ——— *Into this wild abyſs &c.*] Compare  
 Spenser's deſcription of Chaos, *Faer. Qu.* iii. vi. 36 :

— " In the wide wombe of the world there lyes,  
 " In hatefull darkneſs, and in deep horróre,  
 " An huge eternall Chaos, which ſupplies  
 " The ſubſtaunces of Nature's fruitfull progenyes."

Ver. 911. *The womb of nature, and perhaps her grave,*]  
 Lucret. v. 260.

" *Omniparens, eadem rerum commune ſepulchrum.*"

THYER.

Mr. Steevens adds, from *Romeo and Juliet*,

" The earth, that's nature's *mother*, is her *tomb*."

And Mr. Malone, from *Pericles*, of Time ;

" For he's their *parent*, and he is their *grave*."

Ver. 917. *Into this wild abyſs the wary Fiend*

*Stood on the brink of Hell, and look'd a while,*]

Here is a remarkable tranſpoſition of the words, the ſenſe how-  
 ever is very clear ; The wary Fiend ſtood on the brink of Hell,  
 and look'd a while into this wild abyſs, pondering his voyage.  
 It is obſervable, that the poet himſelf ſeems to be doing what he  
 deſcribes, for the period begins at v. 910, then he goes not on

Pondering his voyage; for no narrow frith  
 He had to cross. Nor was his ear less peal'd  
 With noises loud and ruinous, (to compare 921  
 Great things with small) than when Bellona  
                  storms,

With all her battering engines bent to rase  
 Some capital city; or less than if this frame  
 Of Heaven were falling, and these elements 925  
 In mutiny had from her axle torn  
 The steadfast earth. At last his sail-broad vans

directly, but lingers, giving an idea of Chaos before he enters into it. It is very artful! if his style is somewhat abrupt, after such pondering, it better paints the image he intended to give.

RICHARDSON.

*Stood and look'd* is here used for *standing look'd*. So, in B. v. 368, he says, .

————— " what the garden choicest bears

" To fit and taste."——

where *fit and taste* is used for *sitting taste*. PEARCE.

Ver. 921. ————— (to compare

*Great things with small*)] An expression in Virg. *Ecl.* i. 24. " Parvis componere magna." And what an idea does this give us of the noises of Chaos, that even those of a city besieged, and of Heaven and Earth running from each other, are but small in comparison? And though both the similitudes are truly excellent and sublime, yet how surprisingly doth the latter rise above the former! NEWTON.

Ver. 927. ————— *his sail-broad vans*] As the air and water are both fluids, the metaphors taken from the one are often applied to the other; and flying is compared to sailing, and sailing to flying. Thus Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 520.

" *Vesorum pandimus alas;*"



He spreads for flight, and in the furling smoke  
Uplifted spurns the ground; thence many a  
league,

As in a cloudy chair, ascending rides 930  
Audacious; but, that feat soon failing, meets  
A vast vacancy: All unawares  
Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb down he drops

And *Æn.* i. 300,

————— “volat ille per aëra magnum  
“*Remigio alarum.*”

The same manner of speaking has prevailed among the modern  
poets. So Spenser *F. Q.* i. xi. 10.

“His flaggy wings when forth he did display  
“Were like two sails.” NEWTON.

Beaumont and Fletcher, in the *Prophets*, A. ii. S. iii, have  
“*sail-fretch’d wings*;” yet Milton’s precise expression here, is  
Tasso’s, *Gier. Lib.* c. ix. st. 60. of the archangel Michael;

“Indi spiega al gran volo i vanni aurati:”

But the description is Marino’s, who thus paints the devil, *Strage  
de gli Innocenti*, ed. 1633. L. i. st. 18.

————— “per volar dibatte l’ ali,  
“Che’n guifa hà pur di due gran vele aperte.”

Ver. 932. A vast vacancy: all unawares &c.] Hesiod,  
*Theog.* 739.

Χάσμα μέγ’. Οὐδὲ κε πάντα τρισφόρον εἰς ἐκαστὸν  
Οὐδὰς ἵκοιτ’, εἰ πρῶτα πύλων ἔντοσθε γίνοιτο  
Ἄλλὰ κεν ἴδῃ καὶ ἴδῃ φίροι πρὸ θύλλῃ θύλλῃ  
Ἀργαδίη.

Ver. 933. ——— pennons] This word is vulgarly spelt  
*pinions*, and so Dr. Bentley has printed it: but the author spells  
it *pennons*, after the Latin *penna*. The reader will observe the  
beauty of the numbers here, without our pointing it out to him.

NEWTON.

Ten thousand fathom<sup>\*</sup> deep ; and to this hour  
 Down had been falling, had not by ill chance 935  
 The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud,  
 Instinct with fire and nitre, hurried him  
 As many miles aloft : That fury staid,  
 Quench'd in a boggy Syrtis, neither sea, 939  
 Nor good dry land : Nigh founder'd on he fares,  
 Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,  
 Half flying ; behoves him now both oar and sail.  
 As when a gryphon, through the wilderness

Ver. 938. ————— *That fury staid, &c.*] That fiery rebuff ceased, quenched and put out by a soft quicksand : *Syrtis* is explained by *neither sea nor good dry land*, exactly agreeing with Lucan, *Phar.* ix. 304.

“ Syrtis—in dubio pelagi terræque reliquit.” HUME.

Ver. 941. ————— *half on foot,*  
*Half flying ;*] Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 8.

“ *Half flying and half footing in his haste.*”

Milton seems to have borrowed several images of the old dragon described by Spenser. NEWTON.

Ver. 942. ————— *behoves him now both oar and sail.*] It becometh him now to use both his oars and his sails, as galleys do ; according to the proverb, “ *Remis velisque*, with might and main.” HUME.

Ver. 943. *As when a gryphon, &c.*] Gryphons are fabulous creatures, in the upper part like an eagle, in the lower resembling a lion, and are said to guard gold-mines. The *Arimaspians* were a one-eyed people of Scythia, who adorned their hair with gold. See Lucan, *Pharsal.* iii. 280. Herodotus and other authors relate, that there were continual wars between the *gryphons* and the *Arimaspians* about gold ; the *gryphons* guarding it, and the *Arimaspians* taking it, whenever they had opportunity. See Plin, *Nat. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. ii. NEWTON,

NEWTON.

Undaunted to meet there whatever Power 955  
 Or Spirit of the nethermost abyfs  
 Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask  
 Which way the neareft coast of darknefs lies  
 Bordering on light ; when ftraight behold the  
 throne  
 Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion fpread 960  
 Wide on the wasteful deep ; with him enthron'd  
 Sat fable-vefted Night, eldeft of things,  
 The confort of his reign ; and by them flood  
 Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name

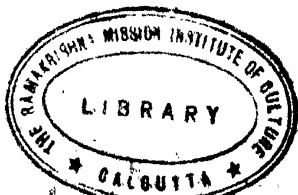
Ver. 956. ———— *the nethermost abyfs*] Though the *throne of Chaos* was above Hell, and confequently a part of the *abyfs* was fo, yet a part of that *abyfs* was at the fame time far below Hell ; fo far below, as that, when Satan went from Hell on his voyage, he fell in that *abyfs* ten thoufand fathom deep, v. 934 ; and the poet there adds, that, if it had not been for an accident, he had been falling down there to this hour : nay, it was fo deep as to be *illimitable*, and where *highth* is *loft*. The *abyfs* then, confidered all together, was *nethermost* in refpect of Hell, below which it was fo endlessly extended. PEARCE.

Ver. 962. *Sat fable-vefted Night*,] Clothed in her fable furs : A *fable* is a creature whose fkin is of the greater price, the blacker it is. ΜΕΛΑΜΠΕΠΛΟΣ ἢ Νύξ. HUME.

Milton here, and in what follows, feems to have had in view Spenser's fine defcription of Night, which is very much in the tafte of this allegory of Milton. See *Faery Queen*, i. v. 20.

" Where grievedly Night, &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 964. *Orcus and Ades*,] *Orcus* is generally by the poets taken for Pluto, as *Ades* is for any dark place. Thefe terms are of a very vague fignification, and are employed by the poets accordingly. Milton has perfonized them, and put them in the court of Chaos. RICHARDSON.



Of Demogorgon ; Rumour next and Chance, 965  
 And Tumult and Confusion all embroil'd,  
 And Discord with a thousand various mouths.  
 To whom Satan turning boldly, thus : Ye Powers

Ver. 964. ————— the dreaded name

Of *Demogorgon* ;] That is, *Demogorgon himself*, as in Virgil, *Æn.* 763, "*Albanum nomen*" is a *man* of Alba ; and we have a memorable instance of this way of speaking in *Rev.* xi. 13. " And in the earthquake were slain *ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων* names of men seven thousand," that is, seven thousand *men*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 965. *Demogorgon* ;] A deity, whose very name the ancients supposed capable of producing the most terrible effects, and which they therefore dreaded to pronounce. He is mentioned as of great power in incantations. See Lucan, *Pharsal.* vi. 744, &c. Statius, *Theb.* iv. 514, &c. And Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* c. xiii. st. 10. Spenser also mentions this infernal deity, *Faer. Qu.* i. v. 22, and places him in the immense abyss *with Chaos*, iv. ii. 47, and takes notice of the dreadful effects of his name, i. i. 37,

" At which Cocytus quakes, and Styx is put to flight."

Well therefore might Milton distinguish him by the *dreaded name* of *Demogorgon*. And, besides these authorities, the learned Dr. Jortin has suggested, that this name is to be found in Lactantius, and in the Scholiast of Statius. Mr. Thyer further justifies the use of the word by a passage in Milton's Latin works, p. 340. " Apud vetustissimos itaque mythologiæ scriptores memoriæ datum reperio *Demogorgonem* deorum omnium atavum (quem eundem et Chaos ab antiquis nuncupatum hariolor) inter alios liberos, quos sustulerat plurimos, Terram genuisse."

NEWTON.

*Demogorgon* is also introduced in a very romantick passage, in Boiardo, *Orl. Innam.* Lib. ii. c. xiii. st. 31. And, in Dryden and Lee's *Ædipus*, the shade of Laius is summoned to appear,

————— " by *Demogorgon's name*,  
 " At which ghosts quake."

And Spirits of this nethermost abyfs,  
 Chaos and ancient Night, I come no fpy, 970  
 With purpose to explore or to difturb  
 The fecrets of your realm ; but, by constraint  
 Wandering this darkfome defart, as my way,  
 Lies through your fpacious empire up to light,  
 Alone, and without guide, half loft, I feek 975  
 What readieft path leads where your gloomy  
 bounds

Confine with Heaven ; or if fome other place,  
 From your dominion won, the ethereal King  
 Poffeffes lately, thither to arrive  
 I travel this profound ; direct my courfe ; 980  
 Directed, no mean recompence it brings  
 To your behoof, if I that region loft,  
 All ufurpation thence expell'd, reduce  
 To her original darknefs, and your fway,

Ver. 972. *The fecrets of your realm ;*] This paffage has been objected to without any reason. He means probably *secret places*, as in v. 891. *Secrets* is ufed here as *secræta* in Virg. *Georg.* iv. 403.

“ In *secræta* fenis ducam :”

and in Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* vi. xii. 24.

“ And fearch'd all their cells and *secrets* near.”

Or, if we underftand, by *secrets*, fecret counfels and tranfactions, the word *difturb* will be proper enough, as in B. i. 167.

“ and *difturb*

“ His inmoft *counfels* from their deftin'd aim :”

and the word *explore* will be very proper, as in B. vii. 95.

“ What we, not to *explore* the *secrets* afk

“ Of his eternal empire.” NEWTON.

(Which is my present journey) and once more 985  
 Erect the standard there of ancient Night :  
 Yours be the advantage all, mine the revenge.

Thus Satan ; and him thus the Anarch old,  
 With faltering speech and visage impos'd,  
 Answer'd. I know thee, stranger, who thou art,  
 That mighty leading Angel, who of late 991  
 Made head against Heaven's King, though over-  
 thrown.

I saw and heard ; for such a numerous host  
 Fled not in silence through the frighted deep,  
 With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout, 995  
 Confusion worse confounded ; and Heaven-gates  
 Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands  
 Pursuing. I upon my frontiers here  
 Keep residence ; if all I can will serve  
 That little which is left so to defend, 1000  
 Encroach'd on still through your intestine broils

Ver. 994. ———— *through the frighted deep,*] The poet perhaps borrowed this description from *Ezekiel's* prefiguration of *Assyria's* fall, xxxi. 16. " I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit."

Ver. 1001. ———— *through your intestine broils*] All the editions read, " through *our* intestine broils." But it appears from the following verses, that the encroachments, which *Chaos* means, were the creation of *Hell* first, and then of the *new world* ; the creation of both which was the effect not of any broils in the realm of *Chaos*, but of the broils in Heaven between God and Satan, the good Angels and the bad, called *intestine war*, and *broils*, in B. vi. 259, 277. We must remember also that it is Satan to whom *Chaos* here speaks ; and therefore we may

Weakening the scepter of old Night : first Hell,  
 Your dungeon, stretching far and wide beneath ;  
 Now lately Heaven and Earth, another world,  
 Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain 1005  
 To that side Heaven from whence your legions  
 fell :

If that way be your walk, you have not far ;  
 So much the nearer danger ; go, and speed ;  
 Havock, and spoil, and ruin, are my gain.

He ceas'd ; and Satan staid not to reply, 1010

suppose, that Milton gave it, “ through *your* intestine broils.” In the first editions there is no comma after *broils* ; and there should be none, because *broils* is the substantive with which the participle *weakening* agrees : It was *their broils* which *weakened* Night's scepter, because the consequences of them lessened her kingdom. PEARCE.

This change of *our* into *your* is so just and necessary, that we thought it best to admit it into the text. NEWTON.

Ver. 1005. ————— *link'd in a golden chain*] There is mention made in Homer of Jupiter's golden chain, by which he can draw up the Gods, and the earth, and sea, and the whole universe ; but they cannot draw him down. See the passage at large in the beginning of the eighth book of the *Iliad*.

It is most probably and ingeniously conjectured, that by this golden chain may be understood the superiour attractive force of the sun, whereby he continues unmoved, and draws all the rest of the planets toward him. But whatever is meant by it, it is certain that our poet took from hence the thought of *hanging the world by a golden chain*. NEWTON.

Ver. 1009. *Havock, and spoil, and ruin, are my gain.*] This is very agreeable to the character of Chaos by Lucan, *Pharsal.* vi. 696.

“ Et Chaos innumeros avidum confundere mundos.”

NEWTON.



But, glad that now his sea should find a shore,  
 With fresh alacrity, and force renew'd,  
 Springs upward, like a pyramid of fire,  
 Into the wild expanse, and, through the shock  
 Of fighting elements, on all sides round 1015  
 Environ'd, wins his way; harder beset  
 And more endanger'd, than when Argo pass'd  
 Through Bosphorus, betwixt the jutting rocks:

[Ver. 1013. *Springs upward, like a pyramid of fire,*] To take in the full meaning of this magnificent similitude, we must imagine ourselves in Chaos, and a vast luminous body rising upward, near the place where we are, so swiftly as to appear a continued track of light, and lessening to the view according to the encrease of distance, till it end in a point, and then disappear; and all this must be supposed to strike our eye at one instant.

BEATTIE.

Drayton, in his *David and Goliath*, 1630, assimilates the Philistian champion to a pyramid on fire, because the sun shone on his armour!

“He look’t like to a pyramid on fire!”

[Ver. 1016. ——— *wins his way;*] Gray has copied the phrase, *Prog. of Poesy*;

“In gliding state she wins her easy way.”

[Ver. 1017. ——— *than when Argo pass’d &c.*] The first long ship ever seen in Greece, in which Jason and his companions sailed to Colchis, to fetch the golden fleece. *Through Bosphorus*, the straits of Constantinople, or the channel of the Black Sea. It is sometimes written *Bosphorus*; but Milton, more exact and accurate, writes it *Bosphorus*, according to the best Greek authors, from *Bῆς ὀψος*, *bovis transitus*, the sea being so narrow there, that cattle are said to have swum across it. *Betwixt the jutting rocks*, two rocks at the entrance into the Black Sea, called in Greek *Symplegades*, and by Juvenal, *Sat. xv. 19.* “*concurrentia saxa;*” which Milton very well translates *the*

Or when Ulyſſes on the larboard ſhunn'd  
Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool ſteer'd. 1020

*juſtling rocks*, becauſe they were ſo near, that at a diſtance they ſeemed to open and ſhut again, and juſtle one another, as the ſhip varied its courſe this way and that as uſual. See Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* lib. iv. cap. xiii; and Apoll. Rhodius, *Argonaut.* ii. 317, &c. In ſhort, Satan's voyage through the fighting elements, was more difficult and dangerous than that of the Argonauts through narrow ſeas betwixt juſtling rocks. NEWTON.

Ver. 1019. *Or when Ulyſſes on the larboard ſhunn'd*

*Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool ſteer'd.*]

Theſe two verſes Dr. Bentley would throw quite away. *Larboard* (ſays he) is abominable in heroick poetry; but Dryden (as the Doctor owns) thought it not unfit to be employed there: and Milton in other places has uſed nautical terms, without being cenſured for it by the Doctor. So, in B. ix. 513, he ſpeaks of *working a ſhip*, of *veering* and *ſhifting*; and in B. i. 207. of *mooring under the lee*. So Virgil's *legere littus* is obſerved to be a term borrowed from mariners, by Servius in his notes on *Georg.* ii. 44, and *Æn.* iii. 127. But the Doctor has two very formidable objections againſt the ſenſe of theſe verſes. Firſt he ſays, that *larboard* or left hand is a miſtake here for *ſtarboard* or right hand, *Charybdis* being to the *ſtarboard* of *Ulyſſes*, when he failed through theſe ſtraits. This is very true, but it does not affect what Milton here ſays; for the ſenſe may be, not that *Ulyſſes* ſhunned *Charybdis* ſituated on the *larboard* of his ſhip as he was failing; but that *Ulyſſes*, failing on the *larboard*, (to the left hand where *Scylla* was) did thereby ſhun *Charybdis*; which was the truth of the caſe. The Doctor's other objection is, that *Scylla* was no *whirlpool*, which yet ſhe is here ſuppoſed to have been: but Virgil (whom Milton follows oftener than he does Homer) deſcribes *Scylla* as *naves in ſaxa trabentem*, *Æn.* iii. 425, and what is that leſs than calling it a *whirlpool*? And Athan. Kircher, who has written a particular account of *Scylla* and *Charybdis* upon his own view of them, does not ſcruple to call them both *whirlpools*. The truth is, that *Scylla* is a rock ſituated in a ſmall bay on the Italian coaſt, into which bay the tide

So he with difficulty and labour hard  
 Mov'd on, with difficulty and labour he ;  
 But, he once past, soon after, when man fell,  
 Strange alteration ! Sin and Death amain  
 Following his track, such was the will of Heaven,  
 Pav'd after him a broad and beaten way .1026  
 Over the dark abyfs, whose boiling gulf  
 Tamely endur'd a bridge of wonderous length

runs with a very strong current, so as to draw in the ships which are within the compass of its force, and either dash them against the rock, or swallow them in the eddies : for when the streams have thus violently rushed into the bay, they meet with the rock Scylla at the farther end, and, being beat back, must therefore form an eddy or *whirlpool*. This account is gathered partly from *Sandys's Travels*, and partly from *Historia orbis terræ*, &c. Vide Hoffman. Lexicon. PEARCE.

Ver. 1028. *Tamely endur'd a bridge*] Dr. Newton here agrees with Dr. Bentley, in censuring this introduction of the *infernal bridge* ; because it is described in the tenth book for several lines together as a thing untouched before, and an incident to surprise the reader : And therefore the poet should not have anticipated it here.

Milton is said to have apparently copied *this bridge*, not, as Dr. Warton has conjectured, from the Persian poet Sadi, but from the Arabian fiction of the bridge called in Arabick *al Sirat* ; which is said to extend over the *infernal gulph*, and is represented as narrower than a spider's web, and sharper than the edge of a sword. Pocock in Port. Mos. p. 282. See *Annotations* on Hist. of Caliph Vathek, 1786, p. 314.

So, in Sylvestre's *Du Bart*. p. 207, the Furies, leaving *Hell*, are described " rowling their steely cars over the *Stygian bridge*." Compare also R. Niccols, in the *Mir. for Magistrates*, 1610, p. 814.

" And vp from darksome Lymboes dismall stage,

" O'er *Stygian bridge*, from Pluto's emperie,

" Came Night's black brood, Disorder, Ruine, Rage, &c."

From Hell continued reaching the utmost orb  
 Of this frail world ; by which the Spirits perverse  
 With easy intercourse pass to and fro 1031  
 To tempt or punish mortals, except whom  
 God, and good Angels, guard by special grace.  
 But now at last the sacred influence  
 Of light appears, and from the walls of Heaven  
 Shoots far into the bosom of dim Night 1036  
 A glimmering dawn : Here Nature first begins  
 Her farthest verge, and Chaos to retire  
 As from her outmost works a broken foe  
 With tumult less, and with less hostile din, 1040  
 That Satan with less toil, and now with ease  
 Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,  
 And, like a weather-beaten vessel, holds  
 Gladly the port, though shrouds and tackle torn ;  
 Or in the emptier waste, resembling air, 1045

Ver. 1033. *God, and good Angels,*] So, in Shakspeare, *Rich.* 111.

“ *God, and good Angels,* fight on Richmond’s side.”

And in Herrick’s *Noble Numbers*, 1647, p. 74.

“ *God, and good Angels,* guide thee.”

Ver. 1039. *As from her outmost works*] From the outmost works of *Nature*, mentioned before. NEWTON.

Ver. 1042. ———— *by dubious light,*] In this line, and in the preceding description of the *glimmering dawn* that Satan first meets with, Milton very probably alludes to Seneca’s elegant account of Hercules’s passage out of Hell, *Herc. Fur.* 668.

“ Non cæca tenebris incipit prima via :

“ Tenuis relietæ lucis a tergo nitor,

“ Fulgôrque dubius solis afficti cadit,” THYER.

Weighs his spread wings, at leisure to behold  
 Far off the æmpyreal Heaven, extended wide  
 In circuit, undetermin'd square or round,  
 With opal towers and battlements adorn'd  
 Of living sapphire, once his native seat ; 1050  
 And fast by, hanging in a golden chain,  
 This pendant world, in bigness as a star

Ver. 1046. *Weighs his spread wings,*] In like manner Taffo, describing the angel Gabriel's flight, *Gier. Lib. c. i. ft. 14.*

"E si librò su l' adèguate penne."

But I think, notwithstanding the natural partiality one has for one's countryman, the preference must be given to the Italian.

THYER.

Ver. 1049. *With opal towers and battlements adorn'd  
 Of living sapphire,*] The city of the great king is thus adorned with jewels, in Spenser, *F. Q. i. x. 55.*

"Whose walls and towres were builded high and strong

"Of perle and precious stone."

But see note, B. iii. 506.

Ver. 1052. *This pendant world,*] Shakespeare, *Meas. for Meas. A. iii. S. i.*

"To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,

"And blown with restless violence round about

"This pendant world."

Ibid. *This pendant world, in bigness as a star  
 Of smallest magnitude close by the moon,*] By *this pendant world* is not meant the Earth; but the new creation, Heaven and Earth, the whole orb of fixed stars immensely bigger than the Earth, a mere point in comparison. This is certain from what Chaos had lately said, ver. 1004.

"Now lately Heaven and Earth, another world,

"Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain."

Besides, Satan did not see the Earth yet; he was afterwards surprised at the sudden view of all this world at once, B. iii. 542,

Of smallest magnitude close by the moon,  
Thither, full fraught with mischievous revenge,  
Accurs'd, and in a curfed hour, he hies. 1055

and wandered long on the outside of it; till at last he saw our sun, and learned there of the Arch-Angel Uriel, where the Earth and Paradise were. See B. iii. 722. *This pendant world* therefore must mean the whole world, the new created universe; and, *beheld far off*, it appeared in comparison with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than *a star of smallest magnitude*; nay, not so large; it appeared no bigger than such a star appears to be when it is *close by the moon*, the superiour light whereof makes any star, that happens to be near her disk, to seem exceedingly small and almost disappear. NEWTON.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.



THE  
THIRD BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE LOST.

VOL. II.

N



## THE ARGUMENT.

God, sitting on his throne, sees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; shows him to the Son, who sat at his right hand; foretels the success of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own justice and wisdom from all imputation, having created Man free, and able enough to have withstood his tempter; yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him seduced. The Son of God renders praises to his Father for the manifestation of his gracious purpose towards Man: But God again declares, that grace cannot be extended towards Man without the satisfaction of divine justice; Man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to Godhead, and, therefore, with all his progeny, devoted to death, must die, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offence, and undergo his punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man: The Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all names in Heaven and Earth; commands all the Angels to adore him: They obey, and, hymning to their harps in full quire, celebrate the Father and the Son. Mean while Satan alights upon the bare cortex of this world's outermost orb; where wandering he first finds a place, since called the Limbo of Vanity: What persons and things fly up thither: Thence comes to the gate of Heaven, described ascending by stairs, and the waters above the firmament that flow about it: His passage thence to the orb of the sun; he finds there Uriel, the regent of that orb, but first changes himself into the shape of a meaner Angel; and, pretending a zealous desire to behold the new creation, and Man whom God had placed here, inquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed: Alights first on mount Niphates.

# PARADISE LOST.

## BOOK III.

HAIL, holy Light, offspring of Heaven  
first-born,  
Or of the Eternal coeternal beam

Ver. 1. *Hail, holy Light, &c.*] Our author's address to Light, and lamentation of his own blindness, may perhaps be censured as an excrecence or digression not agreeable to the rules of epick poetry; but yet this is so charming a part of the poem, that the most critical reader, I imagine, cannot wish it were omitted. One is even pleas'd with a fault, if it be a fault, that is the occasion of so many beauties, and acquaints us so much with the circumstances and character of the author. NEWTON.

Ver. 2. *Or of the Eternal coeternal beam*

*May I express thee unblam'd?*] Or may I without blame call thee, the coeternal beam of the Eternal God? The ancients were very cautious and curious by what names they address'd their deities, and Milton in imitation of them questions whether he should address the Light as the first-born of Heaven, or as the coeternal beam of the Eternal Father, or as a pure ethereal stream whose fountain is unknown: But as the second appellation seems to ascribe a proper eternity to Light, Milton very justly doubts whether he might use that without blame.

NEWTON.

In his *Samson Agon.* v. 83, he gives to Light the first of these appellations;

"O first created beam!"——

May I express thee unblam'd ? since God is light,  
 And never but in unapproach'd light  
 Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee, 5  
 Bright effluence of bright essence increate.  
 Or hear'st thou rather pure ethereal stream,  
 Whose fountain who shall tell ? Before the sun,  
 Before the Heavens thou wert, and at the voice  
 Of God, as with a mantle, didst invest 10

Ver. 3. ———— since God is light,

And never but in unapproach'd light

Dwelt] From I. John i. 5. "God is light." And

I. Tim. vi. 16. "Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto." NEWTON.

See also Mr. Warton's note, *Il Pens.* v. 16.

Ver. 6. *Bright effluence of bright essence increate.*] What the Wisdom of Solomon says of *Wisdom*, Milton applies to *Light*. ch. vii. 25, 26. \* She is a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty; She is the brightness of the everlasting light." NEWTON.

Ver. 7. *Or hear'st thou rather*] Or dost thou rather hear this address, dost thou delight rather to be called, *pure ethereal stream* ? An excellent Latinism, as Dr. Bentley observes, *Hor. Sat.* II. vi. 20.

"Matutine pater seu Jane libentius audis ?" \* \*

And we have an expression of the same kind in Spenser, *Faery Queen*, i. v. 23.

"If old Aveugle's sons so evil hear." NEWTON.

Ver. 8. *Whose fountain who shall tell ?*] As in Job xxxviii. 19. "Where is the way where light dwelleth ?" HUMZ.

Ver. 10. ———— as with a mantle didst invest

\* *The rising world &c.*] See note, R. i. 207. But Milton, perhaps, had the following passage of Job in view, xxxviii. 9. "I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkness a swaddling-band for it."

The rising world of waters dark and deep,  
 Won from the void and formless infinite.  
 Thee I re-visit now with bolder wing,  
 Escap'd the Stygian pool, though long detain'd  
 In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight  
 Through utter and through middle darkness borne,  
 With other notes than to the Orphéan lyre,

Ver. 11. *The rising world of waters dark and deep,*] For the world was only in a state of fluidity, when the light was created. See *Gen.* i. 2, 3. The verse is plainly formed upon this of Spenser, *Fær. Qu.* i. i. 39.

“ And through the world of waters wide and deep,”

NEWTON.

Ver. 12. *Won from the void and formless infinite.*] *Void* must not here be understood as *emptiness*, for Chaos is described full of matter; but *void*, as destitute of any formed being, void as the earth was when first created. What Moses says of that, is here applied to Chaos, *without form and void*. A short but noble description of Chaos, which is said to be *infinite*, as it extended underneath, as Heaven above, infinitely. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 16. *Through utter and through middle darkness*] Through Hell, which is often called *utter darkness*; and through the great gulf between Hell and Heaven, the *middle darkness*. NEWTON.

Ver. 17. *With other notes than to the Orphéan lyre, &c.*] Orpheus made a hymn to Night, which is still extant; he also wrote of the creation out of Chaos. See *Apoll. Rhodius*, i. 493. Orpheus was inspired by his mother Calliope only, Milton by the *heavenly Muse*; therefore he boasts that he sung with *other notes* than Orpheus, though the subjects were the same. RICHARDSON.

*Ibid.* ——— *the Orphéan lyre*] Mr. Warton says that the epithet is perfectly Grecian, and the combination literally from Apollonius Rhodius: See his note, *Eleg.* vi. 37.—

But “the Orphéan lyre” had appeared before in English poetry, as I find in Harington’s *Polindor and Florella*, 1651, p. 57.

—— “the Orphean lyre out-mated.”

I fung of Chaos and eternal Night ;  
 Taught by the heavenly Muse to venture down  
 The dark descent, and up to re-ascend, 20  
 Though hard and rare : Thce I revisit safe,  
 And feel thy fovran vital lamp ; but thou  
 Revisit'ft not these eyes, that roll in vain  
 To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn ;  
 So thick a drop serene hath quench'd their orbs,

Ver. 25. *So thick a drop serene hath quench'd their orbs,*

*Or dim suffusion veil'd.] Drop serene or Gutta serena.*

It was formerly thought, that that sort of blindness was an incurable extinction or quenching of sight by a transparent, watery, cold humour distilling upon the optick nerve, though making very little change in the eye to appearance, if any ; it is now known to be most commonly an obstruction in the capillary vessels of that nerve, and curable in some cases. A *cataract* for many ages, until about thirty years ago, was thought to be a film externally growing over the eye, intercepting or veiling the sight, beginning with dimness, and so encreasing till vision was totally obstructed : but the disease is in the crystalline humour lying between the outmost coat of the eye and the pupilla. The dimness, which is at the beginning, is called a *suffusion* ; and, when the sight is lost, it is a *cataract* ; and cured by couching, which is with a needle passing through the external coat and driving down the diseased crystalline, the loss of which is somewhat supplied by the use of a large convex glass.

When Milton was first blind, he wrote to his friend Leonard Philara, an Athenian then at Paris, for him to consult Dr. Thevenot ; he sent his case (it is in the 15th of his familiar letters) : what answer he had is not known ; but it seems by this passage that he was not certain what his disease was : or perhaps he had a mind to describe both the great causes of blindness according to what was known at that time, as his whole poem is interperfed with great variety of learning. RICHARDSON.

Or dim suffusion veil'd. Yet not the more 26  
 Cease I to wander, where the Muses haunt  
 Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,  
 Smit with the love of sacred song; but chief,  
 Thee, Sion, and the flowery brooks beneath, 30  
 That wash thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,  
 Nightly I visit: nor sometimes forget

Ver. 26. ———— *Yet not the more*

*Cease I to wander,*] Yet do not I forbear to follow  
 the Muses wheresoever they meet. HUME.

This is the sense of the passage, which Dr. Bentley and Dr.  
 Pearce proposed to alter, but which Dr. Newton allows.

Ver. 27. ———— *where the Muses haunt*

*Clear spring, or shady grove,*] So, in Sandys's  
*Ovid*, 1656, p. 6. \*

"Our Demi-gods, Nymphs, Sylvans, Satyrs, Faunes,

"Who haunt clear springs, &c," \*

And, in bishop Hall's *Defiance to Envy*,

"Come, Nymphs and Fauns, that haunt those shady groves," \*

Ver. 29. *Smit with the love of sacred song;*] So Virgil,  
*Georg.* ii. 475.

——— "Dulces ante omnia Musæ,

"Quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore."

NEWTON.

Ver. 30. ———— *the flowery brooks beneath,*] Kedron  
 and Siloah. He still was pleased to study the beauties of the  
 ancient poets, but his highest delight was in the songs of Sion,  
 in the holy Scriptures; and in these he meditated day and night.  
 This is the sense of the passage, stript of its poetical ornaments,

NEWTON.

Ver. 32. ———— *nor sometimes forget*] It is the same  
 as *and sometimes not forget*. *Nec* and *neque* in Latin are frequently  
 the same as *et non*. PEARCE.

Those other two equall'd with me in fate,  
So were I equall'd with them in renown,

Ver. 33. *Those other two* &c.] It has been imagined that Milton dictated *Those other too*, which though different in sense, yet is not distinguishable in sound; so that they might easily be mistaken the one for the other. In strictness of speech perhaps we should read *others* instead of *other*, *Those others too*: but *those other* may be admitted as well as *these other* in B. iv. 783.—*these other wheel the north*: but then it must be acknowledged that *too* is a sorry boitch at best. The most probable explanation of this passage I conceive to be this. Though he mentions *four*, yet there are but *two* whom he particularly desires to resemble, and those he distinguishes both with the epithet *blind* to make the likeness the more striking:

“ *Blind Thamyris, and blind Mæonides.*”

*Mæonides* is Homer, so called from the name of his father Mæon: and no wonder our poet desires to equal him in renown, whose writings he so much studied, admired, and imitated. The character of *Thamyris* is not so well known and established: but Homer mentions him in the *Iliad*, ii. 595; and Eustathius ranks him with Orpheus and Musæus, the most celebrated poets and musicians. Plato mentions his hymns with honour in the beginning of his eighth book of Laws, and towards the conclusion of the last book of his Republick feigns, upon the principles of transmigration, that the soul of *Thamyris* passed into a nightingale. He was a Thracian by birth and invented the Dorick mood or measure, according to Pliny, L. 7. c. 57. Plutarch, in his treatise of Musick, says that he had the finest voice of any of his time, and that he wrote a poem of the war of the Titans with the Gods: and from Suidas we learn that he composed likewise a poem of the generation of the world, which, being subjects near of kin to Milton's, might probably occasion the mention of him in this place. *Thamyris* then, and *Homer*, are *those other two*, whom the poet principally desires to resemble: And it seems as if he had intended at first to mention only these two, and then, *currenre calamo*, had added the two others, *Tiresias*, and *Phineus*, the one a Theban, the other a King of Arcadia;

Blind Thamyras, and blind Mæonides, 35  
 And Tiresias, and Phineus, prophets old :  
 Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move  
 Harmonious numbers ; as the wakeful bird  
 Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid  
 Tunes her nocturnal note. Thus with the year 40  
 Seasons return ; but not to me returns

famous blind prophets and poets of antiquity ; for the word *prophet* sometimes comprehends both characters, as *vates* does in Latin. NEWTON.

Ver. 35. *And Tiresias, and Phineus, prophets old :*] Dr. Bentley rejects this verse ; but it is genuine. *Tiresias* is repeatedly celebrated by Milton. See Mr. Warton's note, *Eleg.* vi. 67.

Dr. Pearce proposes to improve the line, by reading,

“ And Phineus, and Tiresias, prophets old.”

Ver. 37. *Then feed on thoughts,*] Compare Shakspeare, *Ant. and Cleop.* A. iv. S. xiii.

————— “ please your thoughts,

“ In feeding them with those my former fortunes, &c.”

Thus also in Sir P. Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 92.

————— “ On thoughts he feeds.”

Milton uses the phrase again, in *Par. Reg.* B. ii. 258. “ *Fed with better thoughts.*” And in his *Prose-Works*, 1698, vol. i. p. 223. “ I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, *fed with cheerful and confident thoughts*, to embark in a troubled sea of noises, &c.”

Ver. 39. *Sings darkling,*] It is said that *darkling* was coined by Milton, but I find it used several times in Shakspeare, and in the authors of that age. NEWTON.

Ver. 41. *Seasons return ; but not to me returns*] This beautiful turn of the words is copied from the beginning of the third



Day, or the sweet approach of even or morn,  
 Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,  
 Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;  
 But cloud instead, and ever-during dark 45  
 Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men  
 Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair  
 Presented with a universal blank

Act of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, where Mirtillo addresses the spring:

"Tu torni ben, ma teco

"Non tornano &c.

"Tu torni ben, tu torni,

"Ma teco altro non torna, &c." NEWTON.

The pathetick complaint of Robert Duke of Normandy on his blindness may be also here compared, *Mir. for Magistrates*, edit. 1610. p. 654.

"Can I distinguish day from darksome night?

"Or do I know the seasons of the year?

"Know I when spring decks earth with sweet delight,

"When summer's sun glads earth with his bright cleare,

"Or when in woods Autumnus' fruits appeare?

"O, no; of nought but winter can I tell,

"Whom, by his boisterous blasts, I know right well."

There is likewise a similar turn of the words in Petrarch's beautiful Sonnet, beginning,

"Zefiro torna e 'l bel tempo rimena."

Ver. 48. *Presented with a universal blank*

*Of nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,*] Per-  
 haps we should read and point the passage thus:

"Presented with a universal blank;

"All nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,"

that is, "all nature's works being, in respect to the universal blank, or absence of light from me, expung'd to me and ras'd."

PEARCE.

Of nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,  
And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out. 50  
So much the rather thou, celestial Light,

It is to be wished that some such emendation as this was admitted. It clears the syntax, which at present is very much embarrassed. *All nature's works being to me expung'd and ras'd, and wisdom at one entrance quite shut out*, is plain and intelligible; but otherwise it is not easy to say what the conjunction *and* copulates *wisdom* to, v. 50. NEWTON.

Ver. 49. ————— *ras'd*,] Of the Latin *radere*; the Romans, who wrote on waxed tables with iron styles, when they struck out a word, did *tabulam radere*, rase it out.

Light, and the blessings of it, were never drawn in more lively colours and finer strokes; nor was the sad loss of it, and them, ever so passionately and so patiently lamented. They, that will read the most excellent Homer bemoaning the same misfortune, will find him far short of this. Herodotus, in his life, gives us some verses, in which he bewailed his blindness. HUMÆ.

Ver. 51. *So much the rather thou, celestial Light,  
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers  
Irradiate; there plant eyes,*] See Homer, *Odyss.* x.

————— Θηλαίη Τηρισίαο  
Μάντιος ἀλαῦ, τῷ τε φρένις ἔμπεδοί σισι.

which Pope translates,

———— “ The Theban bard, depriv'd of sight,  
“ *Within irradiate* with prophetic light.”

And compare also Guarini, *Past. Fid.* A. v. S. vi.

“ O' quanto spesso giova  
“ La cecità de gli occhi al veder molto!  
“ Ch' allor non traviata  
“ L' anima, ed in se stessa  
“ Tutta raccolta, suole  
“ *Aprir nel cieco senso occhi lincei.*”

Milton represents Samson, “ though blind of sight, with *inward eyes* illuminated, v. 1689.” And in his *Prose-Works*,

Shine inward, and the mind through all her  
powers

Irradiate; there plant eyes, all mist from thence  
Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell  
Of things invisible to mortal sight. 55

Now had the Almighty Father from above,  
From the pure empyréan where he sits  
High thron'd above all highth, bent down his eye,  
His own works and their works at once to view:  
About him all the Sanctities of Heaven 60  
Stood thick as stars, and from his sight receiv'd

when he speaks of his blindness, he expresses the same sentiment. In these various passages he also bore in mind the sublime expression of St. Paul, *Ephes.* i. 18. "The eyes of your understanding being enlightened."

Ver. 56. *Now had the Almighty Father &c.*] The picture of the Almighty's looking down from Heaven is much the same with that which Tasso gives in the following lines, *Gier. Lib.* c. i. st. 7.

"Quando dall' alto foglio il Padre eterno,  
"Ch' è ne la parte più del ciel sincera;  
"E quanto è dalle stelle al basso inferno,  
"Tanto è più in sù della stellata spera;  
"Gli occhi in giù volse, e in un sol punto, e in una  
"Vista mirò ciò, che 'n se il mondo aduna."

THYER.

Ver. 61. ————— and from his sight receiv'd

Beatitude past utterance;] Milton here alludes to the *beatifick vision*, in which divines suppose the happiness of the saints to consist. THYER.

Sandys, in his *Paraphrase on Job*, 1637, has a similar passage:

"Again when all the radiant Sonnes of Light  
"Before his throne appear'd. whose only sight  
"Beatitude infus'd."

Beatitude past utterance ; on his right  
 The radiant image of his glory sat,  
 His only Son ; on earth he first beheld  
 Our two first parents, yet the only two 65  
 Of mankind, in the happy garden plac'd,  
 Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,  
 Uninterrupted joy, unrivall'd love,  
 In blisful solitude ; he then survey'd  
 Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there 70  
 Coasting the wall of Heaven on this side Night  
 In the dun air sublime, and ready now  
 To stoop with wearied wings, and willing feet,  
 On the bare outside of this world, that seem'd  
 Firm land imbosom'd, without firmament, 75  
 Uncertain which, in ocean or in air.

Ver. 62. ————— on his right

*The radiant image of his glory sat*

*His only Son ;*] According to St. Paul, *Heb.* i. 3.

“ His Son—the brightness of his glory, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.” Let the discerning linguist compare the preceding description of God with that by Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* c. ix. st. 55, 56, 57. HUME.

Ver. 72. *In the dun air*] This is the *aer bruno* of the Italians, who almost constantly express a gloomy, dusky air, in these terms.

TYLER.

Ver. 75. *Firm land imbosom'd, without firmament, &c.*] The universe appear'd to Satan to be a solid globe, encompassed on all sides but uncertain whether with water or air, but *without firmament*, without any sphere or fixed stars over it, as over the earth. The sphere, or fixed stars, was itself comprehended in it, and made a part of it. NEWTON.

Him God beholding from his prospect high,  
Wherein past, present, future, he beholds,  
Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.

Only begotten Son, feest thou what rage \* 80  
Transports our Adversary? whom no bounds  
Prescrib'd, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains  
Heap'd on him there, nor yet the main abyfs  
Wide interrupt, can hold; so bent he seems  
On desperate revenge, that shall redound 85  
Upon his own rebellious head. And now,  
Through all restraint broke loose, he wings his  
way

Not far off Heaven, in the precincts of light,  
Directly towards the new created world,  
And Man there plac'd, with purpose to assay 90  
If him by force he can destroy, or, worse,  
By some false guile pervert; and shall pervert;  
For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,

Ver. 77. *Him God beholding from his prospect high,  
Wherein past, present, future, he beholds,*] Boethius,  
an author not unworthy of our poet's imitation, describing the  
Deity, uses exactly the same terms, *De Cons. Philos.* L. iv.  
"Qui cum ex *alta* providentiæ specula respicit, quid cuique  
eveniat." Again, L. v. Metr. ii.

"*Quæ sint, quæ fuerint, veniantque,  
Uno mentis cernit in ictu.*" THYER.

Ver. 93. ————— *his glozing lies,*] The same  
expression is applied to the Devil, B. ix. 549. "So *glor'd* the  
Tempter." See note on *Comus*, v. 161. Thus also, in Syl-  
vester's *Dr Bartas*, the Tempter's address to Eve is called "*glozing*  
*rhetorike*."

And easily transgress the sole command,  
 Sole pledge of his obedience: So will fall 95  
 He and his faithless progeny: Whose fault?  
 Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of me  
 All he could have; I made him just and right,  
 Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.  
 Such I created all the ethereal Powers 100  
 And Spirits, both them who stood, and them who  
 fail'd;  
 Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.  
 Not free, what proof could they have given sincere  
 Of true allegiance, constant faith or love,  
 Where only what they needs must do appear'd, 105  
 Not what they would? what praise could they  
 receive?  
 What pleasure I from such obedience paid,  
 When will and reason (reason also is choice)

Ver. 98. ———— *I made him just and right,*] *Eccles.*  
 vii. 29. "God made man upright." GILLIES.

Ver. 101. ———— *both them who stood, and them who fail'd;*  
 Both the antitheton and the repetition in the next line show that  
 the author gave it,

——— "both them who stood and them who fell;  
 "Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell."

BENTLEY.

Ver. 108. ———— (*reason also is choice*)] Milton had  
 expressed the same sentiment before in his *Areopagitica*; "Many  
 there be that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam  
 to transgress. Foolish tongues! when God gave him *reason*, he  
 gave him *freedom to chuse*; for *reason is but choosing*: He had  
 been else a mere artificial Adam." NEWTON.

Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,  
 Made passive both, had serv'd necessity, 110  
 Not me? They therefore, as to right belong'd,  
 So were created, nor can justly accuse  
 Their Maker, or their making, or their fate,  
 As if predestination over-rul'd  
 Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree 115  
 Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed  
 Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,  
 Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,  
 Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.  
 So without least impulse or shadow of fate, 120  
 Or aught by me immutably foreseen,  
 They trespass, authors to themselves in all  
 Both what they judge, and what they choose;  
 for so  
 I form'd them free: And free they must remain,

Ver. 117. ———— if I foreknew,] If here does  
 not imply the least doubt or uncertainty; but it is used, as it is  
 sometimes in the best authors, in the sense of *though*. "Though  
 I foreknew, that foreknowledge had no influence." NEWTON.

Ver. 121. Or aught by me immutably foreseen,] To foresee  
*immutably*, says Dr. Bentley, are two ideas that cannot unite:  
 He thinks therefore that Milton must have given it, *immutably*  
*foredoom'd*. His objection is right, but his emendation is wrong,  
 I think. Milton seems rather to have dictated,

"Or aught by me *immutable* foreseen;"

where *aught immutable* may signify any event that cannot be  
 changed or altered. PEARCE.

*Immutably foreseen* seems to mean so foreseen as to be *immutable*.  
 If Milton had dictated *immutable*, he would probably have said,

"Or aught *immutable* by me foreseen." NEWTON.

Till they enthrall themselves ; I else must change  
 Their nature, and revoke the high decree 126  
 Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd  
 Their freedom ; they themselves ordain'd their fall.  
 The first sort by their own suggestion fell, 129  
 Self-tempted, self-deprav'd : Man falls, deceiv'd  
 By the other first : Man therefore shall find grace,  
 The other none : In mercy and justice both,  
 Through Heaven and Earth, so shall my glory  
 excel ;

But mercy, first and last, shall brightest shine.

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance  
 fill'd 135

All Heaven, and in the blessed Spirits elect

Ver. 135. *Thus while God spake, &c.*] Milton here shows, that he was no servile imitator of the ancients. It is very well known, that his master Homer, and all who followed him, where they are representing the Deity speaking, describe a scene of terror and awful consternation. *The Heavens, Seas, and Earth, tremble &c.* and this, to be sure, was consistent enough with their natural notions of the Supreme Being : But it would not have been so agreeable to the mild, merciful, and benevolent idea of the Deity upon the Christian scheme, and therefore our author has very judiciously made the words of the Almighty diffusing fragrance and delight to all around him. There is a passage in Ariosto, which is exactly in the same taste with what Milton has given us, c. 29. st. 30.

“ Dio così disse ; e se serena iatorno

“ L'aria, e tranquillo il mar più che mai fusse.”

THYER.

The breath of Jove is described as shedding such exquisite fragrance, as might inspire the dead with life, in Camöens's *Lusiad*, c. i. st. xxii.



Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd.  
 Beyond compare the Son of God was seen  
 Most glorious; in him all his Father shone +  
 Substantially express'd; and in his face 140  
 Divine compassion visibly appear'd,  
 Love without end, and without measure grace,  
 Which uttering, thus he to his Father spake.  
 O Father, gracious was that word which clos'd  
 Thy sovran sentence, that Man should find grace;  
 For which both Heaven and Earth shall high  
 extol 146  
 Thy praises, with the innumerable sound

Ver. 139. ——— in him all his Father shone] P. Fletcher  
 uses a similar phrase, in speaking of our Lord, *Purp. Isl.* c. xii.  
 ft. 81.

“ Full of his Father shines his glorious face.”

Ver. 140. *Substantially express'd;*] According to *Heb.* i. 3,  
 where the Son of God is styled, “ the brightness of his Father's  
 glory, and the *express image* of his person;” *Χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑπο-*  
*στάσεως αὐτοῦ*, the *character of his substance*, as the original ex-  
 presses it. HUME.

Ibid. ——— in his face

*Divine compassion visibly appear'd,*

*Love without end, and without measure grace,]* Marino,

*Gerusalemme Distrutta*, c. vii. ft. 62.

“ Pace, pace e pietà scritto à vermiglio

“ In quei vivi caratteri gli lesse;

“ E ne gli occhi, non men libri del core,

“ Lesse a lettere di foco, Amor, Amore.”

*Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, by Joseph Cooper Walker,  
 Esq; 1799. Appendix, p. xxxiv.

Ver. 147. ——— with the innumerable sound

*Of hymns and sacred songs,]* So, in *B. i.* 101.

Of hymns and sacred songs, wherewith thy throne  
Encompas'd shall resound thee ever blest.

For should man finally be lost, should Man, 150

Thy creature late so lov'd, thy youngest son,

Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though join'd

With his own folly ? That be from thee far,

That far be from thee, Father, who art judge

Of all things made, and judgest only right. 155

Or shall the Adversary thus obtain

His end, and frustrate thine ? shall he fulfil

His malice, and thy goodness bring to nought,

Or proud return, though to his heavier doom,

Yet with revenge accomplish'd, and to Hell 160

Draw after him the whole race of mankind,

By him corrupted ? or wilt thou thyself

Abolish thy creation, and unmake

For him, what for thy glory thou hast made ?

So should thy goodness and thy greatness both 165

Be question'd and blasphem'd without defence.

To whom the great Creator thus replied.

O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight,

" The innumerable force of spirits." In both places the word *innumerable*, though joined to *sound* and *force*, in sense refers to *songs* and *spirits*. PEARCE.

Ver. 153. ———— *That be from thee far,*

*That be far from thee, &c.*] An imitation of *Genesi*, xviii. 25. " *That be far from thee* to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked ; and, that the righteous should be as the wicked, *that be far from thee : Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right ?*" NEWTON.

Ver. 168. O Son, &c.] The Son is here addressed by several

Son of my bosom, Son who art alone  
 My word, my wisdom, and effectual might, 170  
 All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all  
 As my eternal purpose hath decreed :  
 Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will ;  
 Yet not of will in him, but grace in me  
 Freely vouchsaf'd ; once more I will renew 175  
 His laps'd powers, though forfeit, and enthrall'd  
 By sin to foul exorbitant desires ;  
 Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand  
 On even ground against his mortal foe ;  
 By me upheld, that he may know how frail 180  
 His fall'n condition is, and to me owe  
 All his deliverance, and to none but me.  
 Some I have chosen of peculiar grace,  
 Elect above the rest ; so is my will :  
 The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warn'd 185  
 Their sinful state, and to appease betimes

titles and appellations borrowed from the following texts of  
 Scripture, St. *Matt.* iii. 17, *John* i. 18, *Rev.* xix. 13, and  
 1. *Cor.* i. 24. NEWTON.

Ver. 180. *By me upheld,*] It was before, ver. 178. *Upheld  
 by me.* The turn of the words is remarkable. And we have  
 the oftener taken notice of these turns of the words, because it  
 has been objected by Dryden and others, that there were no turns  
 of the words in Milton. NEWTON.

Ver. 183. *Some I have chosen of peculiar grace, &c.*] Our  
 author did not hold the doctrine of rigid predestination ; he was  
 of the sentiments of the more moderate Calvinists, and thought  
 that some indeed were elected of peculiar grace, the rest might  
 be saved complying with the terms and conditions of the Gospel.

NEWTON.

The incens'd Deity, while offer'd grace  
 Invites ; for I will clear their senses dark,  
 What may suffice, and soften stony hearts  
 To pray, repent, and bring obedience due. 190  
 To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,  
 Though but endeavour'd with sincere intent,  
 Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.  
 And I will place within them as a guide,  
 My umpire Conscience ; whom if they will hear,  
 Light after light, well us'd, they shall attain, 196  
 And to the end, persisting, safe arrive.  
 This my long sufferance, and my day of grace,  
 They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste ;  
 But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more, 200

Ver. 189. ————— and soften stony hearts] *Ezek.*  
 xxxvi. 26. " I will take away the stony heart out of your  
 flesh." GILLIES.

The phrase is used by Shakspeare, in *K. Hen.* iv. Part ii.

" Thou hid'st a thousand daggers in thy thoughts ;

" Which thou hast whetted on thy stony heart, &c."

Ver. 197. *And to the end, persisting, safe arrive.*] *St. Matt.*  
 x. 22. " He, that endureth to the end, shall be saved."

HUME.

Ver. 198. *This my long sufferance, and my day of grace,*  
*They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste ;*] It  
 is a great pity that our author should have thus debased the  
 dignity of the Deity, by putting in his mouth this horrid  
 doctrine of a day of grace, after which it is not possible for a  
 man to repent ; and there can be no sort of excuse for him, except  
 the candid reader will make some allowance for the prejudices,  
 which he might possibly receive from the gloomy divinity of that  
 enthusiastick age in which he lived. THYER.

That they may stumble on, and deeper fall ;  
 And none but such from mercy I exclude.  
 But yet all is not done ; Man disobeying,  
 Disloyal, breaks his scälty, and sins  
 Against the high supremacy of Heaven, 205  
 Affecting God-head, and, so losing all,  
 To expiate his treason hath nought left,  
 But to destruction sacred and devote,  
 He, with his whole posterity, must die,  
 Die he or justice must ; unless for him 210  
 Some other able, and as willing, pay  
 The rigid satisfaction, death for death.  
 Say, heavenly Powers, where shall we find such  
 love ?

Which of ye will be mortal, to redeem  
 Man's mortal crime, and just the unjust to save ?  
 Dwells in all Heaven charity so dear ? 216  
 He ask'd, but all the heavenly quire stood mute,

Ver. 215. ———— *and just the unjust to save ?*] That is, Which of ye will be so just as to save the unjust ? Which of ye will be righteous enough to supply the defects of others righteousness ? It is plainly an allusion to 1 Pet. iii. 18. "*For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 217. ———— *all the heavenly quire stood mute,*] This beautiful circumstance is raised upon Rev. viii. 1, where, upon a certain occasion, it is said, "*There was silence in Heaven.*" And so, as there was silence in Hell, when it was proposed who should be sent on the dangerous expedition to destroy mankind, there is likewise silence in Heaven, when it is asked who would be willing to pay the price of their redemption. Satan alone was fit to undertake the one, as the Son of God the other. But though the silence is the same in both places, the difference of the

And silence was in Heaven : On Man's behalf  
 Patron or intercessour none appear'd,  
 Much less that durst upon his own head draw  
 The deadly forfeiture, and ransom set. 221  
 And now without redemption all mankind  
 Must have been lost, adjudg'd to Death and Hell  
 By doom severe, had not the Son of God,  
 In whom the fulness dwells of love divine, 225  
 His dearest mediation thus renew'd.

Father, thy word is past, Man shall find grace ;  
 And shall grace not find means, that finds her  
 way,

The speediest of thy winged messengers,  
 To visit all thy creatures, and to all 230  
 Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, unfought ?

expression is remarkable. In Hell it is said *all sat mute*, B. ii. 420, as there the infernal peers were sitting in council ; but here it is said they *stood mute*, as the good Angels were standing round about the throne of God. NEWTON.

Ver. 219. *Patron or intercessour none*] *Isaiah* lix. 16. "He saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was *no intercessour*." GREENWOOD.

The poet alludes also, in using the word *patron*, to the character given of our Lord by St. John, "We have an *advocate* with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." Beza's interpretation of *advocate* is, "*nostro quidem respectu patronum*," patron *on our behalf*. Milton illustrates the meaning of *patron* also, in the argument to this book, by the phrase, "*sufficient to answer for Man's offence*."

Ver. 225. *In whom the fulness dwells of love divine*,] *Col.* ii. 9. "In him *dwelleth* all the *fulness* of the Godhead bodily."

Ver. 231. *Comes unprevented*,] *Prevent* from *prævenire*, to *come before*. This grace is not preceded by merit or supplication :

Happy for Man, so coming ; he her aid  
 Can never seek, once dead in sins, and lost ;  
 Atonement for himself, or offering meet,  
 Indebted and undone, hath none to bring : 235  
 Behold me then ; me for him, life for life  
 I offer ; on me let thine anger fall ;  
 Account me Man ; I for his sake will leave  
 Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee  
 Freely put off, and for him lastly die 240  
 Well pleas'd ; on me let Death wreak all his rage ;  
 Under his gloomy power I shall not long  
 Lie vanquish'd ; thou hast given me to possess  
 Life in myself for ever ; by thee I live,  
 Though now to Death I yield, and am his due 245  
 All that of me can die ; yet, that debt paid,

Itself *prevents*, or goes before ; it is a free gift, as B. xi. 3.  
 “ *Prevenient* grace descending, &c.” See II *Tim.* i. 9. And  
*Psalms* lxxxviii. 13. “ Unto thee have I cried, O Lord, and  
 in the morning shall my prayer *prevent* thee.” Here the favour,  
 if it comes, comes not *unprevented* ; prayer *prevents*, or goes  
 before, God’s goodness. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 236. *Behold me then ; me for him, life for life*  
*I offer ; on me let thine anger fall ;*  
*Account me Man ;*]. The frequent and vehement  
 repetition of *me*, is very like Virgil, *Æn.* ix. 427.

“ *Me, me : adsum qui feci : in me convertite ferrum :*”  
 and, a little afterwards,

“ *Figite me, si qua est pietas : in me omnia tela*  
 “ *Conjicite ô Rutuli ; me primum absumite ferro.*”

NEWTON.

Ver. 244. *Life in myself for ever ;*] *John* v. 26. NEWTON.

Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsome grave  
 His prey, nor suffer my unspotted soul  
 For ever with corruption there to dwell ;  
 But I shall rise victorious, and subdue 250  
 My vanquisher, spoil'd of his vaunted spoil ;  
 Death his death's wound shall then receive, and  
 stoop  
 Inglorious, of his mortal sting disarm'd.  
 I through the ample air in triumph high  
 Shall lead Hell captive, maugre Hell, and show  
 The Powers of darkness bound. Thou, at the  
 fight 256

Ver. 249. ——— with corruption there to dwell ;] *Psalms*  
 xvi. 10. " Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither suffer  
 thine Holy One to see corruption ;" applied to our Saviour's  
 Resurrection by St. Peter, *Acts* ii. 20, 21. NEWTON.

Ver. 252. *Death his death's wound shall then receive,*] I am  
 very sorry to observe, that the quaint conceit in this line is very  
 inconsistent with the character of the speaker, and unworthy of  
 the majesty of the rest of the speech. Milton might perhaps be  
 led into it by a witticism of the same kind in Seneca, who,  
 speaking of the terrour Pluto was in from the wound he received  
 from Hercules, says, *Herc. Fur.* ver. 568.

" Effugit tenui vulnere faucius,

" *Et mortis dominus pertimuit mori.*" THYER.

Or he might remember Donne, who abounds in quaint conceits ; *Poems*, 1633. p. 36.

" And death shall be no more ; death, thou shalt die."

Ver. 254. *I through the ample air in triumph high &c.*] *Psalms*  
 lxxviii. 18. " Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive." *Col.* ii. 15. " And, having spoiled Principalities and Powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it." NEWTON.



Pleas'd, out of Heaven shalt look down and smile,  
 While, by thee rais'd, I ruin all my foes,  
 Death last, and with his carcass glut the grave:  
 Then, with the multitude of my redeem'd, 260  
 Shall enter Heaven, long absent, and return,  
 Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud  
 Of anger shall remain, but peace assur'd  
 And reconcilment; wrath shall be no more  
 Thenceforth, but in thy presence joy entire. 265

His words here ended, but his meek aspect  
 Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love

Ver. 259. *Death last,*] 1 Cor. xv. 26. "The last enemy, that shall be destroyed, is Death." HUME.

Ver. 265. ——— but in thy presence joy entire.] *Psalms* xvi. 11. "In thy presence is the fulness of joy."

Ver. 266. *His words here ended, but his meek aspect*

*Silent yet spake, &c.*] What a charming and lovely picture has Milton given us of God the Son considered as our Saviour and Redeemer? not in the least inferior in its way to that grander one in the 6th book, where he describes him clothed with majesty and terrour, taking vengeance of his enemies. Before he represents him speaking, he makes *divine compassion, love without end, and grace without measure, visibly to appear in his face*: v. 140, and, carrying on the same amiable picture, makes him end it with a countenance *breathing immortal love to mortal men*. Nothing could be better contrived to leave a deep impression upon the reader's mind, and I believe one may venture to assert, that no art or words could lift the imagination to a stronger idea of a good and benevolent being. The mute eloquence, which our author has so prettily expressed in his *silent yet spake*, is with no less beauty described by Tasso at the end of Armida's speech to Godfrey, c. 4. st. 65.

"Ciò detto tace, e la risposta attende

"Con atto, ch'en silentio hà voce, e preghi."

THEIR.

To mortal men, above which only shone  
 Filial obedience : As a sacrifice  
 Glad to be offer'd, he attends the will 270  
 Of his great Father. Admiration feis'd  
 All Heaven, what this might mean, and whither  
 tend

Wondering ; but soon the Almighty thus replied.

O thou in Heaven and Earth the only peace  
 Found out for mankind under wrath ! O thou 275  
 My sole complacence ! well thou know'st how dear  
 To me are all my works, nor Man the least,  
 Though last created ; that for him I spare  
 Thee from my bosom and right hand, to save,  
 By losing thee awhile, the whole race lost. 280  
 Thou, therefore, whom thou only canst redeem,

Ver. 269. ———— *As a sacrifice &c.*] An allusion to  
*Psalms* xl. 6, and the two following verses. NEWTON.

Ver. 274. ———— *the only peace*  
*Found out for mankind under wrath !*] *Ephef.* ii.

14. "He is our peace." GILLIES.

Ver. 277. ———— *nor Man the least,*  
*Though last created ;*] *The least dear ;* somewhat  
 like Shakspere's *Lear* to Cordelia, A. i. S. i.

—————"Now, our joy,  
 "Although the last, not least."

And Antony to Trebonius, *Jul. Cæs.* A. iii. S. i.

"Though last, not least in love." NEWTON.

Ver. 281. ———— *whom thou only canst redeem,*  
*Their nature*] That is, "the nature of them,  
 whom thou only canst redeem." A manner of speaking very  
 usual with Milton. NEWTON.



Their nature also to thy nature join ;  
 And be thyself Man among men on earth,  
 Made flesh, when time shall be, of virgin seed,  
 By wonderous birth : Be thou in Adam's room 285  
 The head of all mankind, though Adam's son.  
 As in him perish all men, so in thee,  
 As from a second root, shall be restor'd  
 As many as are restor'd, without thee none.  
 His crime makes guilty all his sons ; thy merit,  
 Imputed, shall absolve them who renounce 291  
 Their own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,  
 And live in thee transplanted, and from thee  
 Receive new life. So Man, as is most just,  
 Shall satisfy for Man, be judg'd and die, 295  
 And dying rise, and rising with him raise  
 His brethren, ransom'd with his own dear life.  
 So heavenly love shall outdo hellish hate,  
 Giving to death, and dying to redeem,

Ver. 287. *As in him perish all men, &c.,* ] 1 Cor. xv. 22.  
 " As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."  
 NEWTON.

Ver. 299. *Giving to death, and dying to redeem,* ] Milton's  
 system of divinity taught not only that Man was redeemed, but  
 likewise that a real price was paid for his redemption ; *dying to*  
*redeem* therefore, signifying only redemption in a vague uncertain  
 sense, but imperfectly represents his system ; so imperfectly, that  
 it may as well be called the Socinian ; the price paid (which im-  
 plies a proper redemption) is wanting. But to pay a price im-  
 plying a voluntary act, the poet therefore well expresses it by  
*giving to death*, that is giving himself to death ; so that the  
 sense of the line fully expresses Milton's notion, *Heavenly love*

So dearly to redeem what hellish hate      300  
 So easily destroy'd, and still destroys  
 In those who, when they may, accept not grace.  
 Nor shalt thou, by descending to assume  
 Man's nature, lessen or degrade thine own.  
 Because thou hast, though thron'd in highest bliss  
 Equal to God, and equally enjoying      306  
 God-like fruition, quitted all, to save  
 A world from utter loss, and hast been found  
 By merit more than birthright Son of God,  
 Found worthiest to be so by being good,      310  
 Far more than great or high ; because in thee

*gave a price for the redemption of mankind, and by virtue of that price really redeemed them.* WARBURTON.

St. Matt. xx. 28. "The Son of Man came—to give his life a ransom for many." GILLIES.

Ver. 301. ————— and still destroys] Dr. Bentley objects to *still destroys*, that this speech is before Adam's fall ; and therefore he thinks that Milton gave it "and *will destroy*." But there are many passages in these speeches of God and Messiah, where the Fall is spoken of as a thing past ; perhaps, because all things, even future ones, are present to the Divine Mind. Thus, in v. 151.

"Thy creature late so lov'd :"

And in v. 181.

—————"that he may know how frail

"His fall'n condition is :"—

And yet these two passages, with others of the same kind, Dr. Bentley has suffered to stand uncensured. PEARCE.

Ver. 306. *Equal to God, and equally enjoying*

*God-like fruition,*] This deserves notice, as an instance of Milton's orthodoxy, with relation to the divinity of God the Son. NEWTON.

Love hath abounded more than glory abounds,  
 Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt  
 With thee thy manhood also to this throne ;  
 Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign 315  
 Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,  
 Anointed universal King ; all power  
 I give thee ; reign for ever, and assume  
 Thy merits ; under thee, as head supreme,  
 Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions, I  
 reduce : 320

All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide  
 In Heaven, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell.  
 When thou, attended gloriously from Heaven,  
 Shalt in the sky appear, and from thee send  
 The summoning Arch-Angels to proclaim 325  
 Thy dread tribunal ; forthwith from all winds,

Ver. 317. ————— *all power*  
*I give thee ;]* Matt. xxviii. 18. " All power is  
 given unto me." NEWTON.

Ver. 318. ————— *and assume*  
*Thy merits ;]* Imitated from Horace, *Od.* III.  
 xxx. 14. " *Sume superbiam quæsitam meritis ;*" but adapted to  
 the Divine Person to whom it is spoken. NEWTON.

Ver. 321. *All knees shall bow, &c.]* See *Philipp.* ii. 10.  
 NEWTON.

Ver. 323. *When thou, attended gloriously from Heaven, &c.]*  
 See *St. Matt.* xxv. 30, 31, 32. HUME.

Ver. 325. *The summoning Arch-Angels]* *1 Thess.* iv. 16. " For  
 the Lord himself shall descend from Heaven with a shout, with  
 the voice of the Archangel, and with the trump of God."  
 HUME.

The living, and forthwith the cited dead  
 Of all past ages, to the general doom  
 Shall hasten; such a peal shall rouse their sleep.  
 Then, all thy saints assembled, thou shalt judge  
 Bad men and Angels; they, arraign'd, shall  
 sink 331

Beneath thy sentence; Hell, her numbers full,  
 Thenceforth shall be for ever shut. Mean while  
 The world shall burn, and from her ashes spring  
 New Heaven and Earth, wherein the just shall  
 dwell, 335

And, after all their tribulations long,

Ver. 327. ————— *the cited dead*] Rev. xx. 11.  
 "And I saw the *dead*, small and great, *stand before God*."

HUME.

Ver. 329. ————— *such a peal shall rouse their sleep.*] 1 Cor. xv. 51. "We shall not all *sleep*, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, *at the last trump*."

Ver. 334. *The world shall burn, &c.*] See II Pet. iii. 12, 13.

NEWTON.

Ver. 335. *New Heaven and Earth,*] Dr. Bentley reads *Heavens*; for (he says) *Heaven* is the seat of God, *Heavens* are the visible ones, all not beyond the fixed stars: But I find Milton almost always using the known Jewish phrase of *Heaven and Earth* to express the whole creation by. See instances in B. vii. 62, 167, 232, 256, 617. B. viii. 15, 70. B. x. 638, 647. and B. xi. 66, 901. PEARCE.

We may add too, that though St. Peter says *new Heavens and a new Earth*, yet St. John, Rev. xxi. 1. makes use of the phrase of *Heaven and Earth*. "And I saw a new *Heaven* and a new *Earth*, for the first *Heaven* and the first *Earth* were passed away."

NEWTON.

See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,  
 With joy and love triumphing, and fair truth.  
 Then thou thy regal scepter shalt lay by,  
 For regal scepter then no more shall need, 340  
 God shall be all in all. But, all ye Gods,  
 Adore him, who to compass all this dies;  
 Adore the Son, and honour him as me.

No sooner had the Almighty ceas'd, but all  
 The multitude of Angels, with a shout 345

Ver. 337. *See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,*] Virgil,  
*Ecl. iv. 9.*

————— “*toto surget gens aurea mundo.*” HUME.

Ver. 341. *God shall be all in all.*] According to 1 Cor.  
 xv. 28. “And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then  
 shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things  
 under him, that *God may be all in all.*” HUME.

Ibid. ————— *But, all ye Gods,*

*Adore him,*] Psalm xcvi. 7. “Worship him, all ye  
*Gods,*” that is, all ye *Angels*: And so it is translated by the  
 Seventy, and so cited by St. Paul, *Heb. i. 6.* “And let all the  
*Angels of God worship him.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 343. *Adore the Son, and honour him as me.*] *John v. 23.*  
 NEWTON.

Ver. 345. *The multitude of Angels, &c.*] The construction  
 is this; *All the multitude of Angels uttering joy with a shout loud*  
*as &c. Heaven rung &c.* where the first words are put in the ab-  
 lative case absolutely. PEARCE.

I would make out the syntax, by supplying the verb *shouted*  
 or *received*; so that the full construction will be, *The Angels*  
*shouted with a shout, or received, viz. what God had said, with*  
*a shout loud as from numbers without number &c.*—The ablative  
 absolute, in the first place, would be making the connection too  
 remote, when the natural connection is with the word imme-  
 diately preceding, viz. *voices*; so that the construction is, *voices*  
*uttering joy.* And, secondly, the sense is better, if we follow

Loud as from numbers without number, sweet  
As from blest voices, uttering joy, Heaven rung  
With jubilee, and loud Hosannas fill'd  
The eternal regions : Lowly reverent  
Towards either throne they bow, and to the  
ground 350  
With solemn adoration down they cast  
Their crowns inwove with amaranth and gold ;  
Immortal amaranth, a flower which once  
In Paradise, fast by the tree of life,  
Began to bloom ; but soon for man's offence 355  
To Heaven remov'd, where first it grew, there  
grows,

the natural connection, as *uttering joy* accounts so well for the sweetness of the voices. I therefore think it is better to suppose, that Milton, in imitation of his great model Homer, intended to vary his style, and make it more poetical, by an anomalous construction, but such as does not at all obscure the sense.

LORD MONBODDO.

Ver. 351. ————— down they cast

*Their crowns]* So they are represented, Rev.

iv. 10. NEWTON.

Ver. 353. *Immortal amarant,*] A flower of a purple velvet colour, which, though gathered, keeps its beauty; and, when all other flowers fade, recovers its lustre by being sprinkled with a little water, as Pliny affirms, lib. 21. c. 11. Milton seems to have taken this hint from 1 *Pet.* i. 4. "To an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that *fadeth not away*, ἀφάρτος;" and v. 4. "Ye shall receive a crown of glory that *fadeth not away*, ἀφάρτος;" Both relating to the name of his everlasting *amarant*, which he has finely set near the tree of life. "*Amarantus* flos, symbolum est immortalitatis," Clem. Alexandr.

**HUMB.**



And flowers aloft shading the fount of life,  
 And where the river of blifs through midſt of  
     Heaven  
 Rolls o'er Elyſian flowers her amber ſtream ;

Ver. 357. ————— *the fount of life, &c.*] The abundant happineſs, and the immortal joys of Heaven, are in Scripture generally expreſſed by *the fountain of life*, and *rivers of pleaſure*. See *Pſalm xxxvi.* 8, 9; *Rev. vii.* 17; and *Rev. xxii.* 1. HUME.

Ver. 359. *Rolls o'er Elyſian flowers her amber ſtream;*] Dr. Bentley reads “Rolls o'er *reſplendent gems* &c.” becauſe (he ſays) it is not well conceived that *flowers* grow at the bottom of a river. But (as Dr. Pearce replies) Milton's words do not neceſſarily imply ſo much; the river might only ſometimes *roll over* them, to water them. And yet (ſays Dr. Pearce) I am rather inclined to think, that the poet here by *over* means *through* or *among*. So Mr. Jortin underſtands *Rolls o'er* for *rolls through* or *by*; and obſerves that Horace uſes the verb *prætereire* in much the ſame manner, *Od.* IV. vii. 3.

————— “et decreſcentia ripas  
 “Flumina prætereunt,”

roll by and within their banks. But if we underſtand the paſſage as it is expreſſed, there is no kind of abſurdity in it; for we frequently ſee graſs, and weeds, and flowers, growing under water: And we may therefore ſuppoſe the fineſt flowers to grow at the bottom of the *river of blifs*, or rather the river to *roll over* them ſometimes, to water them. The author ſeems to intend much the ſame thing that he has expreſſed in B. iv. 240, where, ſpeaking of the brooks in Paradife, he ſays they

“Ran nectar, viſiting each plant, and fed  
 “Flowers worthy of Paradife.”

And as there they are flowers *worthy of Paradife*, ſo here they are worthy of *Elyſium*, the region of the Bleſſed: and he makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion in *L'Allegro*,

“From golden ſlumber on a bed  
 “Of heap'd *Elyſian flowers*.”

With these that never fade the Spirits elect 360  
Bind their resplendent locks inwreath'd with  
beams ;

Now in loose garlands thick thrown off, the bright  
Pavement, that like a sea of jasper shone,  
Impurpled with celestial roses smil'd. 364  
Then, crown'd again, their golden harps they took,

And then as to his calling it *amber stream*, it is only on account of its clearness and transparency, and not at all on account of its colour, that he compares it to amber. The clearness of amber was proverbial among the Ancients ; Callimachus, in his hymn to Ceres, ver. 29. has ἀλίεῖσιν ὄδωρ ; and, in like manner, Virgil says of a river, *Georg.* iii. 522.

“ *Purior electo campum petit amnis.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 360. *With these that never fade*] “ With these *flowers*,” as Dr. Newton rightly supposes ; not, “ with these *crowns*,” according to Dr. Pearce, or, “ with *this amaranth*,” according to Dr. Bentley. Thus Drummond speaks of Heaven, *Poems* 1616. Part second.

“ But there *flowers do not fade*, trees grow not old.”

Ver. 363. ————— *like a sea of jasper shone*,] The *jasper* casts divers colours, and the green (the most esteemed) has most *similitude to the sea*. Ruz. de Gem. l. 2. c. 1. HUME.

Ver. 364. *Impurpled with celestial roses smil'd.*] A word very familiar with Spenser, from the Italian *imporporato*. *Fairy Qu.* iii. vii. 16.

“ Oft from the forest wildings he did bring,

“ Whose sides *impurpled* were with smiling red.”

Marino *Ad. cant.* iv. st. 291.

“ L'Hore spogliando de' lor fregi i prati

“ Tutto di rose *imporporato* il-Cielo.” TASSO.

Ver. 365. ————— *their golden harps they took*,] Rev. v. 8. “ Having every one of them *harps*, and golden vials full of odours.” GILLIES.

Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by their side  
 Like quivers hung, and with preamble sweet  
 Of charming symphony they introduce  
 Their sacred song, and waken raptures high ;  
 No voice exempt, no voice but well could join 370  
 Melodious part, such concord is in Heaven.

Thee, Father, first they sung Omnipotent,  
 Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,  
 Eternal King ; thee Author of all being,  
 Fountain of light, thyself invisible 375  
 Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sitst  
 Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st

Ver. 369. ———— and waken *raptures high* ;] Mr. Wakefield has noticed the obligation of Gray to this expression, in his *Elegy* ;

“ Or *wak'd* to extasy the living lyre ;”

as also the original phrase in Lucretius, ii. 412.

—— “ *Mustra mele, per chordas organici quæ*

*Mobilibus digitis expersesusta figurant.*”

Ver. 372. *Thee, Father, first they sung &c.*] This hymn seems to be composed somewhat in the spirit and manner of the hymn to Hercules in the 8th book of the *Æneid* : But is as much superiour as the subject of the one transcends that of the other. NEWTON.

Ver. 377. *Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st*] The word *but* here is the same as *except, unless* ; inaccessible *but* when thou shad'st, that is, then only accessible, when thou shad'st &c. Perhaps Milton had in view what Ovid says of Phœbus when his son Phaëton came to him, *Met.* ii. 39.

—— “ *circum caput omne micantes*

*“ Deposuit radios, propiusque accedere jussit.”* PEARCE.

I rather conclude that these ideas were suggested by the 33d chapter of *Exodus*, ver. 18, and the following passage which ends thus, “ *Thou shalt see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen.*” GREENWOOD.

The full blaze of thy beams, and, through a cloud  
 Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine,  
 Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear, 380

Ver. 380. *Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,*] Milton has the same thought of darkness occasioned by glory, B. v. 599. "*Brightness had made invisible.*" This also explains his meaning here: The excess of brightness had the effect of darkness, invisibility. What an idea of glory! The skirts only not to be looked on by the beings nearest to God, but when doubly or trebly shaded by a cloud and both wings. What then is the full blaze! RICHARDSON.

In like manner Tasso, describing the Almighty in Heaven, c. ix. st. 57.

" Quivi ci così nel suo splendor s' involve,  
 " Che o' abbaglian la vista anco i più degni."

The same thought is in Spenser's *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty*, but more languidly expressed:

" With the great glory of that wondrous light  
 " His throne is all encompassed around,  
 " And hid in his own brightness from the sight  
 " Of all that look thereon &c." THYER.

Milton's idea is not only poetical in an high degree, but strictly and philosophically just. Extreme light, by overcoming the organs of sight, obliterates all objects, so as in its effect exactly to resemble darkness. After looking for some time at the sun, two black spots, the impression which it leaves, seem to dance before our eyes. Thus are two ideas, as opposite as can be imagined, reconciled to the extremes of both; and both, in spite of their opposite nature, brought to concur in producing the sublime. BURKE.

Mr. Walker, in his *Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, is of opinion, that Milton, in this sublime address to the Father, has been indebted to the following passages in Marino's *Gerusalemme Distrutta*, c. vii. st. 4.

" Ma quel ciel d' ogni ciel del gran monarca  
 " Palagio inaccessibile, ed ascoso

Yet dazzle Heaven, that brightest Seraphim  
 Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.  
 Thence next they fang of all creation first,  
 Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,  
 In whose conspicuous countenance, without cloud  
 Made visible, the Almighty Father shines, 386  
 Whom else no creature can behold ; on thee  
 Impres'd the effulgence of his glory abides,  
 Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests.  
 He Heaven of Heavens and all the Powers therein  
 By thee created ; and by thee threw down 391  
 The aspiring Dominations : Thou that day

“ Transcende i sensi, gl' intelletti eccede,  
 “ Sol vi giunge a gran pena occhio di fede.”

And st. 9.

“ Dentro gli abissi d' una luce densa,  
 “ Staffi il gran padre in se beato a pieno,  
 “ Dalla fontana di tesori immensa,  
 “ E dell' immenso incomprendibil seno  
 “ Oceano di gloria egli dispensa.”

Ver. 382. *Approach not,*] So Ovid, *Met.* ii. 22.

“ Constatque procul, neque enim propiora ferebat  
 “ Lumina —” NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *but with both wings veil their eyes.*] So they  
 are represented in Isaiah's vision of the throne of God, ch. vi. 2.  
 HUME.

Ver. 383. ——— *of all creation first,*] So, in *Col.*  
 i. 15. “ The first born of every creature,” or *of all creation,*  
*primogenitus* : And *Rev.* iii. 14. “ The beginning of the  
 “ creation of God.” NEWTON.

Ver. 387. *Whom else no creature can behold ;*] No creature  
 can otherwise behold the Father but in and through the Son. See  
*John* i. 18, and xiv. 9. NEWTON.

Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst not spare,  
 Nor stop thy flaming chariot-wheels, that shook  
 Heaven's everlasting frame, while o'er the necks  
 Thou drov'st of warring Angels disarray'd. 396  
 Back from pursuit thy Powers with loud acclaim  
 Thee only extoll'd, Son of thy Father's might,  
 To execute fierce vengeance on his foes, 399  
 Not so on Man: Him through their malice fall'n,  
 Father of mercy and grace, thou didst not doom  
 So strictly, but much more to pity incline:  
 No sooner did thy dear and only Son  
 Perceive thee purpos'd not to doom frail Man  
 So strictly, but much more to pity inclin'd, 405  
 He to appease thy wrath, and end the strife

Ver. 394. *Nor stop thy flaming chariot-wheels, that shook  
 Heaven's everlasting frame,*] Fairfax's Tasso,  
 B. ii. st. 91.

"Againe to shake heav'n's everlasting frame."

Ver. 398. *Thee only extoll'd,*] We must not understand it  
 thus, Thy Powers returning from pursuit extoll'd, &c. but, Thy  
 Powers extoll'd thee returning from pursuit, and *thee only*; for  
 he was the *sole victor*, all the rest *stood silent eye-witnesses of his  
 almighty acts*, B. vi. 880, &c. So perfectly does this hymn of  
 the good Angels agree with the account given by Raphael in  
 B. vi. And whenever mention is made of the good Angels  
 joining in the pursuit, it is by the evil Angels, the reason of  
 which see before in the note upon B. i. 169. NEWTON.

Ver. 405. *So strictly, but much more to pity inclin'd,*] A re-  
 petition in the manner of Homer, who often uses the same verses  
 and words, in which commands were given, or messages sent;  
 as supposing it not possible to change them for better. HUME.

Ver. 406. *He to appease thy wrath,*] As an ingenious person  
 observes, *than, or but*, is understood before *He*, to complete the  
 sense. NEWTON.

Of mercy and justice in thy face discern'd,  
 Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat  
 Second to thee, offer'd himself to die  
 For Man's offence. O unexampled love, 410  
 Love no where to be found less than Divine !  
 Hail, Son of God, Saviour of Men ! Thy name  
 Shall be the copious matter of my song  
 Henceforth, and never shall my harp thy praise  
 Forget, nor from thy Father's praise disjoin. 415  
 Thus they in Heaven, above the starry sphere,  
 Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent.  
 Mean while upon the firm opacous globe  
 Of this round world, whose first convex divides  
 The luminous inferiour orbs, enclos'd 420  
 From Chaos, and the inroad of Darkness old,  
 Satan alighted walks : A globe far off  
 It seem'd, now seems a boundless continent

Ver. 411. *Love no where to be found less than Divine !*  
 Barrow's lines on this subject, in his little poem on Paradise  
 Lost, are beautiful :

“ Et sine fine Chaos, et sine fine Deus ;  
 “ Et sine fine magis, si quid magis est sine fine,  
 “ In Christo erga homines conciliatus amor.”

GILLIES.

Ver. 412. *Hail, Son of God,*] So, in Virgil's conclusion of  
 the hymn to Hercules, *Æn.* viii. 301.

“ Salve, vera Jovis proles, decus addite Divis.”

NEWTON.

The conclusion of Milton's hymn, is in imitation of the hymns  
 of Homer and Callimachus, who always promise to return in  
 future hymns. RICHARDSON.

Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night  
 Starless expos'd, and ever-threatening storms 425  
 Of Chaos blustering round, inclement sky ;  
 Save on that side which from the wall of Heaven,  
 Though distant far, some small reflection gains  
 Of glimmering air less vex'd with tempest loud :  
 Here walk'd the Fiend at large in spacious field.  
 As when a vultur on Imaus bred, 431  
 Whose snowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,  
 Dislodging from a region scarce of prey  
 To gorge the flesh of lambs or yeanling kids,  
 On hills where flocks are fed, flies toward the  
 springs 435  
 Of Ganges or Hydaspes, Indian streams ;

Ver. 431. *As when a vultur &c.*] This simile is very appropriate and lively, and corresponds exactly in all the particulars. Satan coming from Hell to Earth, in order to destroy mankind, but lighting first on the bare convex of this world's outermost orb, *a sea of land* as the poet calls it, is very fitly compared to a vultur flying, in quest of his prey, tender lambs or kids new-yeaned, from the barren rocks to the more fruitful hills and streams of India ; but lighting in his way on the plains of Sericana, which were in a manner *a sea of land* too ; the country being so smooth and open that carriages were driven (as travellers report) with sails and wind. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *Imaus*] *Imaus* is a celebrated mountain in Asia ; its name signifies *snowy* in the language of the inhabitants according to Pliny, lib. 6. cap. 21. "*incolorum lingua nivosum significante ;*" and therefore it is said here, *whose snowy ridge*. It is the boundary to the east of the Western Tartars, who are called *roving*, as they live chiefly in tents, and remove from place to place for the convenience of pasturage ; their herds of cattle, and what they take in hunting, being their principal subsistence, NEWTON.



But in his way lights on the barren plains  
Of Sericana, where Chineses drive  
With sails and wind their cany waggons light :

Ver. 438. — *Sericana, where Chineses drive*

*With sails and wind their cany waggons light :*]

*Sericana* is a region betwixt China to the east, and the mountain Imaus to the west : And, what Milton says of the *Chineses*, he seems to have taken from Heylin's *Cosmography*, p. 867, where it is said, "Agreeable unto the observation of modern writers, the country is so plain and level, that they have carts and coaches driven with sails, as ordinarily as drawn with horses, in these parts." Our author supposes these carriages to be made of *cane*, to render the thing somewhat more probable. It may be thought the less incredible, as there was a man lately at Bath who attempted something of the same nature, and could really drive his machine without horses by the help of wind and sail, upon Marlborough Downs, but it would not answer upon the road ; it did well enough on the plain, but he could not make it go up hill. NEWTON.

Other attempts of the same nature have been made in this country ; but, England having "this variety" from *Sericana* "of pleasure situate in *HILL* and *dale*," they have not been found, as Dr. Newton observes, to *answer*.

*Sailing Coaches* are also said to have been invented by Stevenius in the Netherlands, in the seventeenth century. See Hakewill's *Apologie of the Power and Providence of God*, 2d edit. 1630, ad fin. Grotius has written a copy of verses on the invention.

Milton did not merely *suppose* the waggons of the Chinese to be made of *cane* ; but he was correct. Sir George Staunton, who so lately visited China, thus mentions the *old* custom, which "is still in some degree retained.—The *cany waggons* are small carts, or double barrows, of *bamboo*, with one large wheel between them. When there is no wind to favour the progress of such a cart, it is drawn by a man, who is regularly harnessed to it, while another keeps it steady from behind, beside assisting in pushing it forward. The *sail*, when the wind is favourable,

So, on this windy sea of land, the Fiend 445  
 Walk'd up and down alone, bent on his prey ;  
 Alone, for other creature in this place,  
 Living or lifeless, to be found was none ;  
 None yet, but store hereafter from the earth  
 Up hither like æreal vapours flew 445  
 Of all things transitory and vain, when sin  
 With vanity had fill'd the works of men ;  
 Both all things vain, and all who in vain things  
 Built their fond hopes of glory or lasting fame,  
 Or happiness in this or the other life ; 450  
 All who have their reward on earth, the fruits  
 Of painful superstition and blind zeal,  
 Nought seeking but the praise of men, here find  
 Fit retribution, empty as their deeds ;  
 All the unaccomplish'd works of Nature's hand,  
 Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mix'd, 456

saves the labour of the former of these two men. It consists only of a mat, fixed between two poles rising from the opposite sides of the cart. This simple contrivance can only be of use when the cart is intended to run before the wind ; and was probably the resource of an individual, who wished to have no companion of his labour and partner of his profits, or who happened not to meet one." *Embassy to China*, 1797, vol. ii. p. 243. 8vo. edit.

Van Braam, second in the Dutch Embassy to *China* in 1794 and 1795, relates, that he saw, in that country, "a whole fleet of wheel-barrow<sup>s</sup> all under sail; having a little mast very neatly inserted in a hole or step cut in the forepart of the barrow, &c." *Translation of the Account of the Embassy*, Lond. 1798, vol. i. p. 152.

Dissolv'd on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,  
 Till final dissolution, wander here ;  
 Not in the neighbouring moon, as some have  
     dream'd ;  
 Those argent fields more likely habitants,      460  
 Translated Saints, or middle Spirits hold  
 Betwixt the angelical and human kind.  
 Hither of ill-join'd sons and daughters born  
 First from the ancient world those giants came  
 With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd :  
 The builders next of Babel on the plain      466

Ver. 457. ————— and in vain,] To wander  
*in vain*, as commonly understood, would be a weak expression ;  
 but it has the force of the Greek *ἀνυμω*, the Latin *frustra*, *temerè*,  
*fortuitò*, *nullo consilio*, at random. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 459. *Not in the neighbouring moon, as some have dream'd ;*]  
 He means particularly Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxxiv. st. 70, &c. ;  
 whose enumeration of things lost upon earth, and treasured up in  
 the moon, Pope has finely adapted in the fifth canto of his *Rape*  
*of the Lock* : And indeed, the notion seems to be fitter for a  
 mock-heroick poem, than for the true epick. NEWTON.

Ver. 463. *Hither of ill-joined sons and daughters born &c.*] He  
 means *the sons of God* ill-join'd with *the daughters of men*, alluding  
 to that text of Scripture, *Gen.* vi. 4. " There were giants in  
 the earth in those days ; and also after that, when the sons of  
 God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bore children  
 to them ; the same became mighty men, which were of old, men  
 of renown : " where, by *the sons of God*, some Fathers and Com-  
 mentators have understood *Angels*, as if the Angels had been  
 enamoured and married to women : but the true meaning is, that  
 the posterity of Seth and other patriarchs, who were worshippers  
 of the true God, and therefore called *the sons of God*, inter-  
 married with the idolatrous posterity of wicked Cain.

NEWTON,

Of Sennaar, and still with vain design,  
 New Babels, had they wherewithal, would build:  
 Others came single; he, who to be deem'd  
 A God, leap'd fondly into Ætna flames, 470  
 Empedocles; and he, who, to enjoy  
 Plato's Elysium, leap'd into the sea,  
 Cleombrotus; and many more too long,

Ver. 467. *Of Sennaar,*] Or *Shinar*; for they are both the same name of this province of Babylonia. But Milton follows the Vulgate, as he frequently does in the names of places.

NEWTON.

Ver. 471. *Empedocles*;) The scholar of Pythagoras, a poet and philosopher of Sicily, who, stealing one night from his followers, threw himself into Ætna; that, being no where to be found, he might be esteemed to be a god, and to be taken up into heaven; but his iron pattens, being thrown out by the fury of the burning mountain, discovered his defeated ambition, and ridiculed his folly. See Horace, *De Art. Poet.* v. 464.

HUME.

*Empedocles* occurs, among other Sages, in Dante's *Limbo, Inf.* c. iv. 138; which Milton probably remembered.

Ver. 473. *Cleombrotus*;) A youth of Ambracia, a city of Epirus in Greece, who, having read over Plato's book of the soul's immortality and happiness in another life, was so ravished with the account of it, that he leaped from a high wall into the sea, that he might immediately enjoy it. NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *and many more too long,*] It seems as if a line were, by mistake of the printer, left out here; for, as Dr. Bentley observes, this phrase is deficiently expressed. Besides, Milton had been mentioning those who *came single*; and therefore he could not fall upon the mention of *embryos*, *idiots*, *eremites*, and *friars*, without some other verse interposed, which should finish the account of those who *came single*, and contain a verb for the nominative cases *embryos*, and *idiots*; which at present is wanting. PEARCE.

Embryos, and idiots, eremites, and friars 474  
 White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery.  
 Here pilgrims roam, that stray'd so far to seek  
 In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heaven;  
 And they, who to be sure of Paradise,

A very ingenious person questions whether Milton, by this appearance of inaccuracy and negligence, did not design to express his contempt of their *trumpery* as he calls it, by hustling it all together in this disorder and confusion. There is the same artful negligence in *Par. Reg.* B. ii. 182, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 475. *White, black, and gray,*] The Carmelites, Dominicans, and Franciscans, who are thus distinguished by Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xiv. st. 68.

————— “Frati, bianchi, neri, e bigi.”

Again, c. xliii. st. 175.

————— “I bigi, i bianchi, i neri frati.”

Ver. 478. This verse and the two following allude to a ridiculous opinion, that obtained in the dark ages of Popery; that, at the time of death, to be clothed in a friar's habit, was an infallible road to heaven. This fact is taken notice of by the anonymous author of *Pasquine in a Traunce*, 1584, fol. 15. “So grew in the mindes of the silly simple soules, this wicked opinion of these monstrous-marked friers, that to *weare their weeds*, or to go clothed in that colour, was good against the quartane ague, and other diseases; and (that worse is) that, to be *buried in that habit*, was the *very right way to go to heaven*.”

We further meet with a piece of history in Weever's *Discourse of Funeral Monuments*, 1631, p. 158, which sets this fact in a very clear light. “They [the friars] were wondrously enriched by the burials of great personages; for, in regard of burial, Abbeyes were most commonly preferred before other Churches whatsoever: And he that was *buried* therein in a *friars habite*, if you will believe it, never came into hell.”

Buchanan, in his *Franciscanus*, exposes this fact in a pleasing

Dying, put on the weeds of Dominick,  
 Or in Franciscan think to pass disguis'd ; 480  
 They pass the planets seven, and pass the fix'd,  
 And that crystalline sphere whose balance weighs

satire. And Dante places, in his *Inferno*, the Conte da monte feltro, notwithstanding his *having taken the habit of a Franciscan*.

BOWLE.

This ridiculous indulgence, which the Orders only of St. Dominick and St. Francis seem to dispense, is also well exposed in Brevint's "*Saul and Samuel at Endor*," 1674, chap. xiv.

Ver. 482. *And that crystalline sphere &c.*] He speaks here according to the ancient astronomy, adopted and improved by Ptolemy. *They pass the planets seven*, our planetary or solar system, *and beyond this pass the fix'd*, the firmament or sphere of the fix'd stars, *and beyond this that crystalline sphere*, the crystalline Heaven, clear as crystal, to which the Ptolemaicks attributed a sort of libration or shaking (the *trepidation* so much talked of) to account for certain irregularities in the motion of the stars, *and beyond this that first mov'd*, the primum mobile, the sphere which was both the first moved and the first mover, communicating its motion to all the lower spheres ; and beyond this was the empyrean Heaven, the seat of God and the Angels.

This passage may receive some farther light and illustration from another of the same nature in Tasso, where he describes the descent of the Arch-Angel Michael from Heaven, and mentions this crystalline and all the other spheres, but only inverting the order, as there the motion is downwards, and here it is upwards, cant. ix. st. 60, 61.

" *Passa il foco, e la luce, &c.*

60.

" He pass'd the light, and shining fire assign'd  
 " The glorious seat of his selected crew,  
 " The mover first, and circle crystalline,  
 " The firmament where fixed stars all shine.

The trepidation talk'd, and that first mov'd ;  
 And now Saint Peter at Heaven's wicket seems  
 To wait them with his keys, and now at foot 485  
 Of Heaven's ascent they lift their feet, when lo  
 A violent cross wind from either coast  
 Blows them transverse, ten thousand leagues awry  
 Into the devious air : Then might ye see  
 Cows, hoods, and habits, with their wearers, tost  
 And flutter'd into rags ; then reliques, beads, 491  
 Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,  
 The sport of winds : All these, upwhirl'd aloft,

61.

" Unlike in working then in shape and show,  
 " At his left hand, Saturn he left and Jove,  
 " And those untruly errant call'd, I trow,  
 " Since he errs not who them doth guide and move,"

Fairfax.

And when our poet mentions *St. Peter at Heaven's wicket with his keys*, he certainly intends (as Mr. Thyer observes) to ridicule the fond conceit of the Romanists, that St. Peter and his successors are in a particular manner entrusted with the keys of Heaven. And he makes use of the low phrase of *Heaven's wicket*, the better to expose the notions of those whom he places here in the Paradise of Fools. NEWTON.

Ver. 489. ————— *Then might ye see*] *Then might ye see*, is no more than "*Then might be seen*." It is very common among poets to talk thus to their readers. See Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 676. PEARCE.

So Spenser, *Fær.* Qu. iv. iv. 38.

" There might ye see loose steeds at random run."

BOWLE.

Ver. 493. *The sport of winds:]* Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 75.

" *Ludibria ventis.*" HUMER.

Fly o'er the backside of the world far off  
 Into a Limbo large and broad, since call'd 495  
 The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown  
 Long after, now unpeopled, and untrod.  
 All this dark globe the Fiend found as he pass'd,  
 And long he wander'd, till at last a gleam  
 Of dawning light turn'd thither-ward in haste 500  
 His travell'd steps: far distant he descries  
 Ascending by degrees magnificent  
 Up to the wall of Heaven a structure high;  
 At top whereof, but far more rich, appear'd

Ver. 495. *Into a Limbo large and broad,]* The *Limbus patrum*, as it is called, is a place that the Schoolmen supposed to be in the neighbourhood of Hell, where the souls of the patriarchs were detained, and those good men who died before our Saviour's resurrection. Our author gives the same name to his Paradise of Fools, and more rationally places it beyond *the backside of the world*. NEWTON.

Ver. 501. *His travell'd steps:]* His *tired* steps, from the Italian *travagliato*. RICHARDSON.

So, in his *Treatise of Education*, 1673, p. 113. "The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may, both with profit and delight, be taken up in recreating and composing their *travail'd* spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of musick heard or learnt."

Ver. 502. *Ascending by degrees magnificent*  
*Up to the wall of Heaven a structure high;]* Heaven is locally represented with similar brilliancy, in his earlier Poems. See Mr. Warton's note, *In Obit. Præf. El. v. 62*. He had perhaps been struck with the splendid description of the new Jerusalem, in *Tobit* xiii. 16. "Jerusalem shall be built up with *sapphires*, and *emeralds*, and *precious stones*; thy *walls*, and *towers*, and *battlements*, with pure gold." See also *Rev. xxi. 12*. And compare *B. ii. 1049*.



The work as of a kingly palace-gate, 505  
 With frontispiece of diamond and gold  
 Embellish'd; thick with sparkling orient gems  
 The portal shone, inimitable on earth  
 By model, or by shading pencil, drawn.  
 The stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw 510  
 Angels ascending and descending, bands  
 Of guardians bright, when he from Esau fled  
 To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz  
 Dreaming by night under the open sky, 514  
 And waking cried, *This is the gate of Heaven.*  
 Each stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood  
 There always, but drawn up to Heaven sometimes  
 Viewless; and underneath a bright sea flow'd

Ver. 507. ———— *with sparkling orient gems*] So, in Petrarch's *Trionf. della Morte*, cap. ii.

“ Di gemme orientali incoronata.”

And in a *Sonnet*,

“ Nè gemma oriental, nè forza d' auro.”

Yet Dr. Bentley would here substitute “*ardent*” for “*orient gems*,” when the latter word was common, even in our own language, as denoting *richly bright*; and the whole phrase existing in the poetry of Milton's favourite, Petrarch.

Ver. 510. *The stairs*] The degrees mentioned before, v. 502, were such as whereon Jacob saw &c.; a comparison drawn from *Genes.*, xxviii. 12, 13. NEWTON.

Ver. 513. *To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz*] This passage was wrong pointed in all the editions. For there should be no comma after *Luz*: The comma should be after *Padan-Aram*; and *in the field of Luz* should be joined to *dreaming* in the next verse.

NEWTON.

Ver. 518. ———— *and underneath a bright sea flow'd*] The

Of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon  
 Who after came from earth, sailing arriv'd 520  
 Wafted by Angels, or flew o'er the lake  
 Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds.  
 The stairs were then let down, whether to dare  
 The Fiend by easy ascent, or aggravate  
 His sad exclusion from the doors of bliss: 525  
 Direct against which open'd from beneath,  
 Just o'er the blissful seat of Paradise,  
 A passage down to the Earth, a passage wide,  
 Wider by far than that of after-times  
 Over mount Sion, and, though that were large,  
 Over the Promis'd Land to God so dear; 531  
 By which, to visit oft those happy tribes,  
 On high behests his Angels to and fro  
 Pass'd frequent, and his eye with choice regard

author himself explains this, in the argument of this book, to be meant of *the water above the firmament*. He mentions it again, B. vii. 619. HEYLIN.

Ver. 521. *Wafted by Angels,*] As Lazarus was *carried* by Angels, *Luke* xvi. 22. NEWTON.

Ver. 522. *Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds.*] See *2 Kings*, ii. 11; and note on *Paradise Regained*, B. ii. 16, and on *Il Pens.* v. 40.

Ver. 525. ——— *the doors of bliss:*] *Rev.* iv. 1. "After this I looked, and, behold, a door was opened in Heaven." See also Milton's poem, *In Obitum Præfatus El.* v. 62.

"Donec nitentes ad fores

"Ventum est Olympi —"

Ver. 534. ——— *and his eye with choice regard*] Dr. Pearce thinks that, after *regard*, a verse seems to be wanting to describe what *his eye did with choice regard*: But it may be

From Paneas, the fount of Jordan's flood, 535  
 To Beërsaba, where the Holy Land  
 Borders on Egypt and the Arabian shore;  
 So wide the opening seem'd, where bounds were  
 set

To darkness, such as bound the ocean wave.  
 Satan from hence, now on the lower stair, 540  
 That scal'd by steps of gold to Heaven-gate,  
 Looks down with wonder at the sudden view  
 Of all this world at once. As when a scout,  
 Through dark and desert ways with peril gone  
 All night, at last by break of cheerful dawn 545  
 Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,

understood thus; his eye *pass'd frequent*, as well as his Angels to and fro on high behests or commands, and survey'd *from Paneas*, a city at the foot of a mountain of the same name, part of mount Libanus where the river Jordan has its source, to *Beërsaba* or Beertheba, that is, the whole extent of the Promised Land from Paneas in the north to Beertheba in the south, where the Holy Land is bounded by Egypt and Arabia. The limits of the Holy Land are thus expressed in Scripture, *from Dan even unto Beertheba*, Dan at the northern and Beertheba at the southern extremity; and the city that was called *Dan* was afterwards named *Paneas*. NEWTON.

Ver. 538. ————— *where bounds were set*

*To darkness,*] *Job* xxviii. 3. "He setteth an end to darkness." GILLES.

Ver. 546. ————— *of some high-climbing hill,*] The attribute of the agent given to the subject upon which it operates.

LORD KAIMES.

So, in Drayton's *Barons Wars*, 1627. c. ii. st. 14.

"Upon the East, from bushie Needwood's side, .

"There riseth vp an *ease-climbing* hill."

Which to his eye discovers unaware  
 The goodly prospect of some foreign land  
 First seen, or some renown'd metropolis  
 With glittering spires and pinnacles adorn'd, 550  
 Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams :  
 Such wonder feis'd, though after Heaven seen,  
 The Spirit malign, but much more envy feis'd,  
 At sight of all this world beheld so fair.  
 Round he surveys (and well might, where he  
                   stood 555

So high above the circling canopy  
 Of night's extended shade,) from eastern point  
 Of Libra to the fleecy star that bears  
 Andromeda far off Atlantick seas  
 Beyond the horizon ; then from pole to pole 560  
 He views in breadth, and without longer pause  
 Down right into the world's first region throws

Ver. 555. *Round he surveys &c.*] He surveys the whole creation from east to west, and from north to south. But poetry delights to say the most common things in an uncommon manner,

It is fine, as it is natural, to represent Satan taking a view of the world, before he threw himself into it. NEWTON.

Ver. 556. ————— *the circling canopy*

*Of night's extended shade,)]* "The night began to cast her dark canopy over them." Sidney's *Arcad.* 13th edit, p. 443.

Ver. 562. *Down right into the world's &c.*] Satan, after having surveyed the whole creation, immediately *without longer pause* throws himself into it, and is described as making two different motions. At first he drops down perpendicularly some way into it, *down right into the world's first region throws his flight precipitant*, and afterwards winds his oblique way, turns and

His flight precipitant, and winds with ease  
 Through the pure marble air his oblique way  
 Amongst innumerable stars, that shone 565  
 Stars distant, but nigh hand seem'd other worlds;  
 Or other worlds they seem'd, or happy isles,

winds this way and that, if he might any where espy the seat of Man; for though in v. 527, it is said that the passage was *just over Paradise*, yet it is evident that Satan did not know it, and therefore, as it was natural for him to do, winds about in search of it *through the pure marble air*. NEWTON.

Ver. 564. *Through the pure marble air*] The first epithet *pure* determines the sense of the second, and shows why the air is compared to *marble*; namely, for its clearness and whiteness, without any regard to its hardness: And the word *marmor*, marble, is derived from a Greek word, μαρμαίρω, that signifies to *shine* and *glisten*.

See also Shakspeare, *Othello*, A. iii. S. iii.

"Now, by yon *marble* heaven." NEWTON.

So Drummond, *Poems*, 1616, Part the first,

———— "Heaven looks like smoothest *marble*."

Sandys, in his *Paraphrase on the Psalms*, has the following compound, "the *marble-arched* skie." Compare Sophocles, *Antigone*, v. 618. Ὀλύμπῳ μαρμαρίσσαν αἶγλαν.

Ibid. ————— *his oblique way*] Perhaps with the accent on the first syllable of *oblique*, as it frequently is in Drayton. Thus in *Polyolbion*, Song xvi.

"Then in his *oblique* course the lusty stragling street."

Ver. 565. ————— *that shine*

*Stars distant,*] They appeared, by their shining, to be stars. It is a Greek expression, as Plato in an epigram on his friend Stella, preserved by Diogenes Laertius: "*You shine, whilst living, a morning star; but, dead, you now shine Hesperus among the shades.*" RICHARDSON.

Like those Hesperian gardens fam'd of old,  
 Fortunate fields, and groves, and flowery vales,  
 Thrice happy isles; but who dwelt happy there 570  
 He staid not to inquire: Above them all  
 The golden sun, in splendour likest Heaven,  
 Allur'd his eye; thither his course he bends  
 Through the calm firmament, (but up or down,  
 By center, or eccentric, hard to tell, 575  
 Or longitude,) where the great luminary  
 Aloof the vulgar constellations thick,  
 That from his lordly eye keep distance due,  
 Dispenses light from far; they, as they move  
 Their starry dance in numbers that compute 580

Ver. 568. *Like those Hesperian gardens*] See note on *Comus*, v. 981.

Ver. 570. *Thrice happy isles*,] They were called by the ancients *Insula Fortunata*.

Ver. 574. ————— (*but up or down,*  
*By center, or eccentric, hard to tell,*  
*Or longitude*,)] These words (as Dr. Pearce observes) should be included in a parenthesis, and then the construction of the rest will be plain and easy. Satan had now passed the fixed stars, and was directing his course towards the sun; but it is hard to tell (says the poet) whether his course was *up or down*, that is north or south, for so *up and down* signifies in B. ix. 78, and B. x. 675; the north being uppermost in our globes: Or whether it was *by center, or eccentric*, towards the center, or from the center, it not being determined whether the sun is the center of the world or not; or whether it was *by longitude*, that is, in length east or west, as appears from B. iv. 539, and B. vii. 373. NEWTON.

Ver. 580. *In numbers*] That is, in measures. RICHARDSON.

Days, months and years, towards his all-cheering  
lamp

Turn swift their various motions, or are turn'd  
By his magnetick beam, that gently warms  
The universe, and to each inward part  
With gentle penetration, though unseen, 585  
Shoots invifible virtue even to the deep ;  
So wonderoufly was fet his ftation bright.  
There lands the Fiend, a spot like which perhaps  
Aftonomer in the fun's lucent orb  
Through his glaz'd optick tube yet never faw. 590  
The place he found beyond expreffion bright,  
Compar'd with aught on earth, metal or ftone ;  
Not all parts like, but all alike inform'd  
With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire ;

Ver. 585. ———— *though unseen,*

*Shoots invifible virtue even to the deep ;*] The words *though unseen* relate to *penetration*, and *invifible* is the epithet to *virtue*, which is a diftinct thing from the *penetration* before-mentioned, and which might have been vifible, though the other was not fo. PEARCE.

Ver. 590. *Through his glaz'd optick tube*] The fpo-  
ts in the fun are vifible with a *telescope*: But aftonomer perhaps never  
faw, through his *glaz'd optick tube*, fuch a fpot as Satan now he  
was in the fun's orb. The poet mentions this glafs the oftener,  
in honour of Galileo, whom he means here by the *aftonomer*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 592. ———— *metal or ftone ;*] In the firft  
editions it is *medal* or ftone, and Mr. Richardfon juftifies it, as  
the repetition of the fame word immediately after is avoided :  
but for that very reafon it appears that this is an error of the  
pref., and that it ought to be read *metal* or ftone, as both *metal*  
and *ftone* are repeated afterwards. NEWTON.

If metal, part seem'd gold, part silver clear ; 595  
 If stone, carbuncle most or chrysolite,  
 Ruby or topaz, to the twelve that shone  
 In Aaron's breast-plate, and a stone besides  
 Imagin'd rather oft than elsewhere seen,  
 That stone, or like to that which here below 600  
 Philosophers in vain so long have fought,  
 In vain, though by their powerful art they bind  
 Volatile Hermes, and call up unbound  
 In various shapes old Proteus from the sea,

Ver. 596. *If stone, carbuncle most or chrysolite,*] See Greene's *Newer ton late*, part 2d, which opens thus: "No sooner did *Phæbus* burnish the heaven with his brightness, and, deckt in a glorious *diademe of chrysolites*, had mounted him on his coach to lighten the lampe that maketh *Flora* beauteous, but the palmer was up, and at his orisons."

And Shakspeare describes the *car of Phæbus* as composed of *carbuncles*, in *Ant. and Cleopatra*, and in *Cymbeline*.

Ver. 597. ————— *to the twelve that shone*] Ruby or topaz *to the twelve*, that is, *and all the rest, reckoning to the twelve*, that shone in Aaron's breast-plate. The poet had particularly mentioned some of the stones, and now he includes all the rest *to the number twelve*. Such a concise manner of speaking is not unusual with our author. Fenton reads,

"Ruby or topaz, *or the twelve that shone;*"

which cannot be said after some of the twelve have been already mentioned. NEWTON.

Ver. 604. *In various shapes &c.*] Proteus, after he had turned himself into various amazing mutations, was fabled by the poets to return at last to his proper shape, and to answer truly all questions put to him: Therefore Milton tells us, that the chemists drain their various matter, they work upon, through all its mutations, till, pursued through all its latent labyrinths, it assume, Proteus-like, its first shape, and answer their expectations: A simile well-suited to their uncertain search. HUMER.



Drain'd through a limbeck to his native form. 605  
 What wonder then if fields and regions here  
 Breathe forth Elixir pure, and rivers run  
 Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch  
 The arch-chemick sun, so far from us remote,  
 Produces, with terrestrial humour mix'd, 610  
 Here in the dark so many precious things  
 Of colour glorious, and effect so rare?  
 Here matter new to gaze the Devil met  
 Undazzled; far and wide his eye commands;  
 For sight no obstacle found here, nor shade, 615  
 But all sun-shine, as when his beams at noon

Ver. 606. ———— *regions* here] Milton frequently uses the word *here*, not meaning thereby a place present to him when he is speaking, but that place only which he is then speaking of. PRARCT.

Ver. 608. *The arch-chemick sun,*] The thought of making the sun the chief chemist, seems to be taken from Shakspeare's *King John*;

“ To solemnize this day, the glorious *sun*  
 “ Stays in his course, and plays the *alchemist*;  
 “ Turning, with splendour of his precious eye,  
 “ The meager cloddy earth to glittering gold.”

NEWTON.

Andrew Marvell, in his poem, *Eyes and Tears*, has borrowed from his friend Milton:

“ So the all-seeing *sun*, each day,  
 “ Distills the world with *chemick* ray.”

The sun is distinguished with one or two *chemick* titles, in Crolius's *Basilica Chymica*, p. 209, edit. 1609.

Ver. 616. ———— as *when his beams at noon*  
*Culminate from the equator, as they now*  
*Shot upward still direct,*] The first *as* is used by

Culminate from the equator, as they now  
 Shot upward still direct, whence no way round  
 Shadow from body opaque can fall; and the air,  
 No where so clear, sharpen'd his visual ray 620  
 To objects distant far, whereby he soon  
 Saw within ken a glorious Angel stand,  
 The same whom John saw also in the sun:  
 His back was turn'd, but not his brightness hid;  
 Of beaming sunny rays a golden tiar 625  
 Circled his head, nor less his locks behind  
 Illustrious on his shoulders fledge with wings  
 Lay waving round; on some great charge em-  
 ploy'd  
 He seem'd, or fix'd in cogitation deep.

way of similitude, in the sense of *like as*; There was no shadow but all sun-shine, like *as when his beams at noon culminate from the equator*, that is, are vertical and shoot directly from the equator, which is the reason why those who live under the equator, under the line, are called Afcii, and at noon cast no shadows. The other *as* is used by way of reason, in the sense of *soasmuch as*; There was no shadow but all sun-shine, soasmuch as his beams shot now directly upward. NEWTON.

Ver. 622. *Saw within ken*] The same expression is in his *Prose-Works, Eikon*, p. 411. "He pretends to foresee within ken." BOWLE.

The same expression occurs in Greene's *Newer too late*, part the first, 1616.

"I might see in my ken

"Such a flame as fiereth men."

Ver. 623. *The same whom John saw also in the sun*:] Rev. xix. 17. "And I saw an Angel standing in the sun."

NEWTON.

Glad was the Spirit impure, as now in hope 630  
 To find who might direct his wandering flight  
 To Paradise, the happy seat of Man,  
 His journey's end and our beginning woe.  
 But first he casts to change his proper shape,  
 Which else might work him danger or delay : 635  
 And now a stripling Cherub he appears,  
 Not of the prime, yet such as in his face  
 Youth smil'd celestial, and to every limb  
 Suitable grace diffus'd, so well he feign'd ;

Ver. 634. *But first he casts to change his proper shape,*] He *considers, contrives* : a metaphor taken, not from the founder's art, as Dr. Warburton supposed ; or from *casting* the eye *about* every way, as Mr. Richardson asserts ; but from astrology, according to Mr. Warton ; as, " to *cast* a nativity." See also B. xii. 43.

————— " they *cast* to build  
 " A city and tower, whose top may reach to heaven."

So, in *Comus*, v. 369.

" To *cast* the fashion of uncertain evils."

Ver. 636. ———— *a stripling Cherub*] Doctor Newton is certainly mistaken in supposing that the poet means a Cherub " not of the *prime order* or dignity." He is describing a Cherub in the figure, and with the beauty, of a stripling. *Prime* is opposed to *stripling*. WARTON.

Dr. Newton has noticed Spenser's description of the young Angel, in the *Faery Queen*, ii. viii. 5, and Tasso's representation of Gabriel as a stripling, when he is sent to rouse the Christian army, *Ger. Lib.* c. i. st. 13.

But Milton, if he had any preceding writer in view, remembered perhaps the descent, and magnificent description, of the heavenly Angel, in the second book of Marino's *Strega degli innocenti*, st. 96, and 97.

Under a coronet his flowing hair 640  
 In curls on either cheek play'd; wings he wore  
 Of many a colour'd plume, sprinkled with gold;  
 His habit fit for speed fuccinct, and held  
 Before his decent steps a silver wand.  
 He drew not nigh unheard; the Angel bright, 645  
 Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turn'd,  
 Admonish'd by his ear, and straight was known

Ver. 643. *His habit fit for speed fuccinct,*] If Milton meant that Satan had clothes on as well as wings, it is contrary to his usual manner of representing the Angels; but I rather understand it, that the *wings he wore* were his habit, and they were certainly a habit *fit for speed fuccinct*: But *fuccinct* I understand, with Dr. Pearce, not in its first and literal sense, *girded or tucked up*; but in the metaphorical sense, *ready and prepared*: As Fabius, in *luz. Orat.* ii. 2, says, "*Proni fuccinctique &c.*" NEWTON.

But this expression, as Mr. Bowle also observes, is applied to the habit of the Angel by Marino, in the passage to which I have just referred:

"Fendesi in due la lieve faldà, e questa  
 "Succinta."

Mr. Bowle adds from Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xvii. st. 52,

"In abito fuccinto era Marfisa,  
 "Qual si convenne a donna, ed a guerriera."

And from Horace, in the metaphorical sense, *Serm.* II. vi. 107,  
 "*Succinctus curſitat hoſpes.*"

Ver. 644. *His decent ſteps*] The word *decent*, in its common acceptation in our language, will, I think, ſcarcely come up to what our poet is here deſcribing; and therefore we ought, in juſtice to him, to recur to its Latin original. Hor, *Od.* III. xxviii. 35.

"Antequam turpis macies decentes  
 "Occupet malas." TYRÆA.

The Arch-Angel Uriel, one of the seven  
 Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,  
 Stand ready at command, and are his eyes 650  
 That run through all the Heavens, or down to  
 the Earth.

Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,  
 O'er sea and land: him Satan thus accosts.

Uriel, for thou of those seven Spirits that stand  
 In sight of God's high throne, gloriously bright,  
 The first art wont his great authentick will 656  
 Interpreter through highest Heaven to bring,  
 Where all his sons thy embassy attend;  
 And here art likeliest by supreme decree  
 Like honour to obtain, and as his eye 660  
 To visit oft this new creation round;  
 Unspeakable desire to see, and know  
 All these his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,  
 His chief delight and favour, him for whom

Ver. 650. ————— *and are his eyes*] An expression borrowed from *Zachariah*, iv. 10. "*Those seven, they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro the whole earth.*" The Jews therefore believed there were *seven* principal Angels, who were the captains and leaders, as it were, of the heavenly host. See *Tobit*, xii. 15, *Rev.* i. 4, v. 6, and viii. 2. NEWTON.

Ver. 654. *Uriel*,] His name is derived from two Hebrew words, which signify *God is my light*. He is mentioned as a good Angel in the second book of *Esdra*; and the Jews, and some Christians, conceive him to be an Angel of light according to his name: And therefore he has, properly, his station in the sun.

NEWTON.

Ver. 664. *His chief delight and favour*,] By *delight* is plainly meant, as Dr. Pearce observes, not his delight itself, but the

All these his works so wonderful he ordain'd, 665  
 Hath brought me from the quires of Cherubim  
 Alone thus wandering. Brightest Seraph, tell  
 In which of all these shining orbs hath Man  
 His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,  
 But all these shining orbs his choice to dwell; 670  
 That I may find him, and with secret gaze  
 Or open admiration him behold,  
 On whom the great Creator hath bestow'd  
 Worlds, and on whom hath all these graces  
 pour'd;  
 That both in him and all things, as is meet, 675  
 The universal Maker we may praise;  
 Who justly hath driven out his rebel foes  
 To deepest Hell, and, to repair that loss,  
 Created this new happy race of Men  
 To serve him better: Wise are all his ways. 680  
 So spake the false dissembler unperceiv'd;  
 For neither Man nor Angel can discern

object of his delight; and, by *favour*, the object of his favour.  
 It is only using the abstract for the concrete, as Mr. Upton adds.  
 Thus Virgil, *Æn.* v. 541.

“Nec bonus Eurytio prælato invidit honori;”

*honor* is the honourable person, *prælato* which was preferred before him. NEWTON.

Ver. 678. ————— to repair that loss,] Tickell reads  
 “to repair *their* loss,” which Fenton and Bentley have followed  
 without any reason.

Ver. 682. For neither Man, nor Angel can discern,  
*Hypocriſy*,] This passage has been imitated by  
 Lillo, in his *Christian Hero*, A. ii. S. i.

Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks  
 Invisible, except to God alone,  
 By his permissive will, through Heaven and  
     Earth : 685  
 And oft, though wisdom wake, suspicion sleeps  
 At wisdom's gate, and to simplicity  
 Resigns her charge, while goodness thinks no ill  
 Where no ill seems : Which now for once be-  
     guil'd  
 Uriel, though regent of the sun, and held 690

" *Hypocrisy*, that with an angel's likeness  
 " May well deceive the wisdom of an angel,  
 " Shall reinstate me in his generous heart."

Ver. 683. *Hypocrisy*, &c.] What is said here of hypocrisy is censured as a digression, but it seems no more than is absolutely necessary ; for otherwise it might be thought very strange, that the evil Spirit should pass undiscovered by the Arch-Angel Uriel, the regent of the sun, and the sharpest-sighted Spirit in Heaven ; and therefore the Poet endeavours to account for it by saying, that hypocrisy cannot be discerned by Man or Angel, it is invisible to all but God, &c. : But yet the evil Spirit did not pass wholly undiscovered, for, though Uriel was not aware of him now, yet he found reason to suspect him afterwards from his furious gestures on the mount. NEWTON.

Mr. Hayley is of opinion, that the poet's recollection of his having been deluded by the matchless hypocrisy of Cromwell, might have inspired him with this admirable apology for Uriel.

Ver. 686. *And oft, though wisdom wake*, &c.] He must be very critically spleenick indeed, who will not pardon this little digressional observation. There is not in my opinion a nobler sentiment, or one more poetically expressed, in the whole poem. What great art has the poet shown in taking off the dryness of a mere moral sentence, by throwing it into the form of a short and beautiful allegory ? THYER.

The sharpest-sighted Spirit of all in Heaven ;  
 Who to the fraudulent impostor foul,  
 In his uprightness, answer thus return'd.

Fair Angel, thy desire, which tends to know  
 The works of God, thereby to glorify 695  
 The great Work-master, leads to no excess  
 That reaches blame, but rather merits praise  
 The more it seems excess, that led thee hither  
 From thy empyreal mansion thus alone,  
 To witness with thine eyes what some perhaps,  
 Contented with report, hear only in Heaven: 701  
 For wonderful indeed are all his works,  
 Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all  
 Had in remembrance always with delight ;  
 But what created mind can comprehend 705  
 Their number, or the wisdom infinite  
 That brought them forth, but hid their causes  
 deep ?

I saw when at his word the formless mass,  
 This world's material mould, came to a heap :  
 Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar 710  
 Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd ;  
 Till at his second bidding Darkness fled,

Ver. 693. *In his uprightness, answer thus return'd.*] So, in *Job xxxiii. 3.* " *My words shall be of the uprightness of my heart.*"

Ver. 704. *Had in remembrance*] *Psalms cxl. 4.* In the old version: " He hath so done his marvellous works, that they ought to be *had in remembrance.*" GREENWOOD.

Ver. 712. ————— *Darkness fled,*] *Darkness* is here a person, as in *L'Allegro*, v. 6. Perhaps he remembered



Light shone, and order from disorder sprung :  
 Swift to their several quarters hasted then  
 The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire ;  
 And this ethereal quintessence of Heaven 716  
 Flew upward, spirited with various forms,  
 That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to stars

this personification in Hesiod. However, see Mr. Warton's note, *L' Alleg.* v. 49.

Ver. 713. '———— and order from disorder sprung:] So Plato in *Timæo*, Εἰς τάξιν αὐτοῦ ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας, which Tully renders in Latin thus, “ Id ex inordinato in ordinem adduxit.” Cic. de Univ. So also Philo the Jew after his master Plato; Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν ἐστίαν ἄτακτον καὶ συγχυμένην ἔσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς, εἰς τάξιν ἐξ ἀταξίας, καὶ ἐκ συγχύσεως εἰς διακρίσιν ἄγων ὁ κοσμοπλάστης, μορφῶν ἤθετο. It would be no small pleasure to the curious reader to compare Uriel's account of the creation, with that in Plato's *Timæus*. This instance plainly shows that Milton had that in his eye. TYLER.

Ver. 715. *The cumbrous elements,]* Even earth and fire are so, in comparison of the ethereal quintessence, celestial fire, or pure spirit. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 716. *And this ethereal quintessence of Heaven]* The four elements hasted to their quarters, but this fifth essence flew upward. It should be *this*, as it is in Milton's own editions: and not *the ethereal quintessence*, as it is in Bentley's, Fenton's, and some other editions. For the Angel who speaks is in the sun, and therefore says *this*, as the sun was a part of this ethereal quintessence. And this notion our author borrowed from Aristotle and others of the ancient philosophers, who supposed that, besides the four elements, there was likewise an ethereal quintessence or fifth essence, out of which the stars and Heavens were formed, and its motion was orbicular: ἵνα δὲ παρὰ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, καὶ ἄλλα σέμνητοι, ἐξ ἧς τὰ πλεῖστα συνίσταται· ἄλλοις δ' αὐτὸ τὴν κίνησιν ἵνασι, κυκλοφορεῖν γὰρ: which are the very words of Diogenes Laertius in his life of Aristotle. NEWTON.

Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move ;  
 Each had his place appointed, each his course ;  
 The rest in circuit walls this universe. 721

Look downward on that globe, whose hither side  
 With light from hence, though but reflected,  
 shines ;

That place is Earth, the seat of Man ; that light  
 His day, which else, as the other hemisphere, 725  
 Night would invade ; but there the neighbouring  
 moon

(So call that opposite fair star) her aid  
 Timely interposes, and her monthly round  
 Still ending, still renewing, through mid Heaven,  
 With borrow'd light her countenance triform 730  
 Hence fills and empties to enlighten the Earth,  
 And in her pale dominion checks the night.  
 That spot, to which I point, is Paradise, :  
 Adam's abode ; those lofty shades, his bower. 734  
 Thy way thou canst not miss, me mine requires.

Thus said, he turn'd ; and Satan, bowing low,  
 As to superiour Spirits is wont in Heaven,

Ver. 719. *Numberless,*] These stars are *numberless as thou seest* (says the Angel) *and seest how they move* ; and the rest of this fifth essence, that is not formed into stars, surrounds and like a wall encloses the universe. Lucret. v. 470.

“ Et latè diffusus in omnes undique partes

“ Omnia sic avido complexu cætera sepfit.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 730. ——— *her countenance triform*] Encreasing with horns towards the east, decreasing with horns towards the west, and at the full. NEWTON.

Where honour due and reverence none neglects,  
Took leave, and toward the coast of earth beneath,  
Down from the ecliptick, sped with hop'd success,  
Throws his steep flight in many an acry wheel; 741  
Nor staid, till on Niphates' top he lights.

Ver. 741. ————— *in many an acry wheel;*] This sportive motion is attributed to Satan for joy that he was now so near his journey's end: and it is very properly taken notice of here, as it is said to have been observed by the Angel Uriel, afterwards, B. iv. 567,

————— " I describ'd his way  
" Bent on all speed, and mark'd *his acry gait*."

NEWTON.

I do not think, that Milton intended to describe any sportive motion of Satan's, but only the speediness of his flight. It is a manner of expression familiar to the Italians, and, no doubt, he borrowed it from them. To give one instance out of many. Ariosto, describing the magician Atlante upon his hippogrif descending in great haste to seize Bradamante, who was fallen on the ground, uses these terms, *Orl. Fur.* c. iv. st. 24.

" Accelerando il volator le penne

" Con larghe ruote in terra a por si venne." THYER.

See notes, B. iv. 13.

Ver. 742. ————— *On Niphates' top he lights.*] The poet lands Satan on this mountain, because it borders on Mesopotamia, in which the most judicious describers of Paradise place it.

HUME.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE  
FOURTH BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE LOST.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*Satan, now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprise which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despair; but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise whose outward prospect and situation is described; overleaps the bounds; sits in the shape of a cormorant on the tree of life, as highest in the garden, to look about him. The garden described; Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse, thence gathers that the tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and thereon intends to sound his temptation by seducing them to transgress: Then leaves them a while to know further of their state by some other means. Meanwhile Uriel descending on a sunbeam warns Gabriel, who had in charge the gate of Paradise, that some evil Spirit had escaped the deep, and passed at noon by his sphere in the shape of a good Angel down to Paradise, discovered after by his furious gestures in the mount. Gabriel promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve discourse of going to their rest: Their bower described; their evening worship. Gabriel, drawing forth his bands of night-watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong Angels to Adam's bower, lest the evil Spirit should be there doing some harm to Adam or Eve sleeping; there they find him at the Ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel; by whom questioned, he scornfully answers; prepares resistance; but, hindered by a sign from Heaven, flies out of Paradise.*

# PARADISE LOST.

## BOOK IV.

O, For that warning voice, which he, who  
faw  
The Apocalypſe, heard cry in Heaven aloud,  
Then when the Dragon, put to ſecond rout,  
Came furious down to be reveng'd on men,  
*Woe to the inhabitants on earth !* that now, 5  
While time was, our firſt parents had been warn'd  
The coming of their ſecret foe, and 'ſcap'd,  
Haply ſo 'ſcap'd his mortal ſnare : For now  
Satan, now firſt inflam'd with rage, came down,

Ver. 1. *O, for that warning voice, which he, who ſaw  
The Apocalypſe, heard cry in Heaven aloud,*] The  
poet opens this book with a wiſh in the manner of Shakspeare,  
“ O, for a Muſe of fire &c.” Prolog. to *Hen. v.* “ O, for  
a falconer's voice, &c.” *Rom. and Jul. A. ii. S. ii.*

And, in order to raiſe the horror and attention of his reader,  
he introduces his relation of Satan's adventures upon earth, by  
wiſhing that the ſame warning voice had been uttered now at  
Satan's firſt coming, which St. John, who in a viſion ſaw the  
*Apocalypſe* or *Revelation* of the moſt remarkable events which  
were to befall the Chriſtian Church to the end of the world,  
heard when the Dragon was put to ſecond rout, *Rev. xii. 12.*  
“ *Woe to the inhabitants of the earth, and of the ſea ; for the Devil  
is come down unto you, having great wrath.*” NEWTON.

The tempter ere the accuser of mankind, 10  
 To wreak on innocent frail man his loss  
 Of that first battle, and his flight to Hell :  
 Yet, not rejoicing in his speed, though bold  
 Far off and fearless, nor with cause to boast,  
 Begins his dire attempt; which nigh the birth 15  
 Now rolling boils in his tumultuous breast,  
 And like a devilish engine back recoils  
 Upon himself; horror and doubt distract  
 His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir  
 The Hell within him; for within him Hell 20

Ver. 10. ————— *the accuser of mankind,*] As he is represented in the same chapter of the *Revelations*, v. 10. "For the *accuser* of our brethren is cast down." NEWTON.

Ver. 13. *Yet, not rejoicing in his speed,*] Does not this confirm what I have observed of v. 471 of the preceding Book, and prove that Milton did not intend by it to attribute any  *sportive* motion to Satan for joy that he was near his journey's end?

THYER.

No more than "*but glad that now his sea should find a shore,*" B. ii. 1011, and "*sped with hop'd success,*" B. iii. 740, prove the contrary. Satan was bold *far off* and *fearless*; and, as he drew nearer, was pleased with *hop'd success*: But, now he is come to earth *to begin his dire attempt*, he does not *rejoice* in it; his heart misgives him; *horror and doubt distract* him. This is all very natural. NEWTON.

I agree with Mr. Thyer, that Satan's motion, "*in many an airy wheel,*" was intended to denote the agility of his flight, rather than the effect of his joy. So, in the Comedy of *Lingua*, 1607, A. i. S. ult. of Mercury's descent:

"First I beheld him *beaving in the aire,*

"And then *down stooping, in an hundred gires.*"

Ver. 20. *The Hell within him; &c.*] So, at v. 75.

"Which way I fly is *Hell*; myself am *Hell.*"

He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell  
 One step, no more than from himself, can fly  
 By change of place: Now conscience wakes  
 despair,

That slumber'd; wakes the bitter memory  
 Of what he was, what is, and what must be 25  
 Worse; of worse deeds worse sufferings must  
 ensue.

Sometimes towards Eden, which now in his view

Mr. Bowle observes, that Landino, in his comment on the thirty-fourth canto of Dante's *Inferno*, speaking of the Devils, says, "*Sempre portano seco il suo inferno.*"

It may be added, that venerable Bede in like manner supposed the Devils to be never free from torture, however they might be employed: "*Ubiunque, vel in aere volitant, vel in terris, aut sub terris vagantur, sive detinentur, suarum secum ferunt tormenta flammarum.*" Bede has also drawn a hell which spouts cataracts of fire, and in which the damned feel the varying extremes of heat and cold; he has represented Satan plunged into *Tartarus profundus*, "*quia videret inferos apertos, et Sathanan dimersum in profundis Tartari;*" and he perhaps suggested, by the account which he makes a suffering sinner relate of himself, the circumstance of *Sin's monsters guarding her bowels*, "*furgentisque duo nequissimi spiritus, habentes in manibus vomeres, percusserunt me, unus in capite, alius in pede: qui videlicet modo cum magno tormento irrepunt in interiora corporis mei, moxque, ut ad se invicem perveniunt, moriar, et paratis ad rapiendum me demonibus, in inferni claustra pertrahar.*" Hist. Ecc. lib. v. cap. xiii. ed. Smith. p. 198.

Shakspeare uses the same expression, as Milton, in *K. John*, A. v. S. vii.

"*Within me is a Hell.*"——

See also Fairfax's *Tasso*, c. xii. st. 77.

"Swift from myself I runne, myself I feare,

"Yet still my Hell within myself I beare."



Lay pleasant, his griev'd look he fixes sad ;  
 Sometimes towards Heaven, and the full-blazing  
 sun,

Which now sat high in his meridian tower : 30  
 Then, much revolving, thus in sighs began.

O thou, that, with surpassing glory crown'd,  
 Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God  
 Of this new world ; at whose sight all the stars  
 Hide their diminish'd heads ; to thee I call, 35  
 But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,  
 O Sun ! to tell thee how I hate thy beams,  
 That bring to my remembrance from what state  
 I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere ;  
 Till pride and worse ambition threw me down 40

Ver. 30. ————— *meridian tower :*] At noon the sun is lifted up, as in a tower. The metaphor is used by Virgil in his *Culex*, v. 41.

“ Igneus æthereas jam sol penetrârat in arces.”

Spenser, in his admirable translation of that poem, has followed him punctually :

“ The fiery sun was mounted now on hight

“ Up to the heavenly towers.” RICHARDSON.

Ver. 34. ————— *at whose sight all the stars*

*Hide their diminish'd heads ;*] So, in Harington's *Orl. Fur.* c. iv. st. 55.

————— “ Rinaldo doth perceive

“ The sunne appeare, and starres their heads to hide.”

BOWLE.

Pope copies Milton, *Moral Essays*, Ep. iii. 282.

“ Ye little stars ! hide your diminish'd rays.”

Ver. 40. *Till pride and worse ambition*] Pride is a kind of excessive and vicious self-esteem, which raises men in their own

Warring in Heaven against Heaven's matchless  
King :

Ah wherefore ! he deserv'd no such return  
From me, whom he created what I was  
In that bright eminence, and with his good  
Upbraided none ; nor was his service hard. 45  
What could be less than to afford him praise,  
The easiest recompence, and pay him thanks,  
How due ! yet all his good prov'd ill in me,  
And wrought but malice ; lifted up so high  
I sdein'd subjection, and thought one step higher  
Would set me highest, and in a moment quit 51

opinions above what is just and right : But ambition is that which adds fuel to this flame, and claps spurs to these furious and inordinate desires that break forth into the most execrable acts, to accomplish their haughty designs ; which makes our author stigmatize ambition as a *worse* sin than pride. HUME.

Dr. Bentley reads, " and *curs'd* ambition," because he thinks it hard to say whether *pride* or *ambition* is worse : But Milton seems to mean by *pride* the vice considered in itself, and only as it is the tempter of the proud man ; and by *ambition* the vice that carried him to aim at being equal with God : And was not this vice the *worst* of the two ? I observe that Satan always lays the blame on his *ambition*, as in v. 61, and v. 92. PEARCE.

Ver. 44. ————— and *with his good*

Upbraided *none* ;] *James* i. 5. " God—giveth to all men liberally, and *upbraideth* not."

Ver. 50. *I sdein'd subjection*,] For *disdain'd* ; an imitation of the Italian *sdegnare*. HUME.

Spenfer has repeatedly used the same freedom with our language. Thus also Drayton, *Moses' birth* &c. B. i.

" Which though it *sdain'd* the pleas'dnesse to confesse."

And Fairfax, *Tasso*, B. xx. st. 128. " Her *sdeignfull* eies."

The debt immense of endless gratitude,  
 So burdensome still paying, still to owe,  
 Forgetful what from him I still receiv'd,  
 And understood not that a grateful mind 55  
 By owing owes not, but still pays, at once  
 Indebted and discharg'd; what burden then?  
 O had his powerful destiny ordain'd  
 Me some inferiour Angel, I had stood  
 Then happy; no unbounded hope had rais'd 60  
 Ambition. Yet why not? some other Power  
 As great might have aspir'd, and me, though  
 mean,  
 Drawn to his part; but other Powers as great  
 Fell not, but stand unshaken, from within  
 Or from without, to all temptations arm'd. 65  
 Hadst thou the same free will and power to stand?  
 Thou hadst: whom hast thou then or what to  
 accuse,  
 But Heaven's free love dealt equally to all?  
 Be then his love accurs'd, since love or hate,  
 To me alike, it deals eternal woe. 70  
 Nay, curs'd be thou; since against his thy will  
 Chose freely what it now so justly rues.

Ver. 55. *And understood not*] This verb is to be connected with the other verbs in v. 50, *I receiv'd* and *thought*. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *a grateful mind*

*By owing owes not, but still pays,*] Satan here has anticipated a sentence, afterwards used by Cicero: "Gratiam autem et qui retulerit, habere, et qui habeat, retulisse."

BENTLEY.

Me miserable ! which way shall I fly  
 Infinite wrath, and infinite despair ?  
 Which way I fly is Hell ; myself am Hell ; 75  
 And, in the lowest deep, a lower deep  
 Still threatening to devour me opens wide,  
 To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heaven.  
 O, then, at last relent : Is there no place  
 Left for repentance, none for pardon left ? 80  
 None left but by submission ; and that word

Ver. 79. *O, then, at last relent :*] There is no fault to be found with this reading, but I am sometimes inclined to think that the author might have given it

“ O then at last *repent* :

because of what follows,

————— “ Is there no place

“ Left for *repentance*,”

and again, ver. 93.

“ But say I could *repent*, &c.”

And it is not improbable, that he had Shakspeare in his thoughts,  
*Hamlet* A. iii. S. iii.

“ Try, what repentance : what can it not ?

“ Yet what can it, when one cannot repent ?”

Or, if we retain the word *relent*, we may suppose that Satan could not at first bring himself to say *repent*, and therefore makes use of the softer term *relent*. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *is there no place*

*Left for repentance,*] *Heb.* xii. 17. “ Afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected : for he found *no place of repentance.*” GILLIES.

See also *Wisdom*, xii. 10. “ Thou gavest them *place of repentance.*”

Ver. 81. ————— *and that word*

*Disdain forbids me,*] *Disdain forbids me that word submission.* BENTLEY.

Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame  
Among the Spirits beneath, whom I seduc'd  
With other promises and other vaunts  
Than to submit, boasting I could subdue 85  
The Omnipotent. Ay me! they little know  
How dearly I abide that boast so vain,  
Under what torments inwardly I groan,  
While they adore me on the throne of Hell.  
With diadem and scepter high advanc'd, 90  
The lower still I fall, only supreme  
In misery: Such joy ambition finds.  
But say I could repent, and could obtain,  
By act of grace, my former state; how soon  
Would highth recall high thoughts, how soon  
unfay 95  
What feign'd submission swore? Ease would  
recant  
Vows made in pain, as violent and void.  
For never can true reconciliation grow,  
Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep:  
Which would but lead me to a worse relapse 100  
And heavier fall: so should I purchase dear  
Short intermission bought with double smart.  
This knows my punisher; therefore as far  
From granting he, as I from begging peace:  
All hope excluded thus, behold, in stead 105  
Of us out-cast, exil'd, his new delight,  
Mankind created, and for him this world.  
So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,  
Farewell remorse: all good to me is lost:

Evil be thou my good ; by thee at least 110  
 Divided empire with Heaven's King I hold,  
 By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign ;  
 As Man ere long, and this new world, shall know,  
 Thus while he spake, each passion dimm'd his  
 face 114  
 Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and despair ;

Ver. 111. *Divided empire*] “ *Divisum imperium cum Jove  
 Cæsar habet.*” GREENWOOD.

Ver. 112. *By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign ;*] This passage has occasioned much perplexity and confusion, but it may easily be understood thus. *Evil be thou my good* ; be thou all my delight, all my happiness ; *by thee I hold at least divided empire with Heaven's King* at present, I ruling in Hell as God in Heaven : *by thee* I say ; he is made to repeat it with emphasis, to add the greater force to his diabolical sentiment, and to mark it more strongly to the reader : *and* in a short time *will reign perhaps more than half*, in this new world as well as in Hell : *as Man ere long, and this new world, shall know.* And he is very properly made to conclude his speech with this, as this was now his main business and the end of his coming hither. NEWTON.

Ver. 114. ————— *each passion dimm'd his face*

*Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and despair ;*]

Each passion, ire, envy, and despair, dimm'd his countenance, which was thrice changed with pale through the successive agitations of these three passions. For, that paleness is the proper hue of envy and despair, every body knows, and we always reckon that sort of anger the most deadly and diabolical, which is accompanied with a pale livid countenance. It is remarkable, that in the argument to this book we read, instead of *ire*, FEAR, *envy*, and *despair* ; and as *fear* may be justified by v. 18, *horror* and *doubt distract*, and other places ; so is *anger* warranted by v. 9, and by his cursing God and himself, and by his threatening of Man in the close of his speech. NEWTON.

The whole passage is an imitation of Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, i. ix. 16.

Which marr'd his borrow'd visage, and betray'd  
Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld.

For heavenly minds from such distempers foul  
Are ever clear. Whereof he soon aware,  
Each perturbation smooth'd with outward calm,  
Artificer of fraud; and was the first 121

That practis'd falshood under faintly show,  
Deep malice to conceal, couch'd with revenge:  
Yet not enough had practis'd to deceive  
Uriel once warn'd; whose eye pursued him down  
The way he went, and on the Assyrian mount 126

Saw him disfigur'd, more than could befall  
Spirit of happy sort: His gestures fierce  
He mark'd and mad demeanour, then alone,  
As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen. 130

So on he fares, and to the border comes  
Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,  
Now nearer, crowns with her enclosure green,  
As with a rural mound, the champain head  
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides 135

*"Thus as he spake, his visage waxed pale,*

*"And change of brow great passion did betray;*

*"Yet still he strove to cloke his inward bale,*

*"And hide the smoke that did his fire betray."*

Compare v. 120, 121.

Ver. 126. ————— on the Assyrian mount] See note  
B. iii. 742. Niphates divides Armenia from Assyria; and from  
this mountain the river Tigris, that is, "Hiddekel, which  
goeth toward the east of Assyria," takes its rise.

Ver. 135. — a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides  
With thickets overgrown, grotesque and wild,  
Access denied;] Dante, *Purg.* c. xxviii.

With thicket overgrown, grottesque and wild,  
 Access denied ; and over-head up grew  
 Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,  
 Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,  
 A sylvan scene ; and, as the ranks ascend 140  
 Shade above shade, a woody theatre  
 Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops  
 The verdurous wall of Paradise up sprung :  
 Which to our general fire gave prospect large  
 Into his nether empire neighbouring round. 145  
 And higher than that wall a circling row

“ Dentro all' antica felva, tanto ch' io

“ Non potea rivedere ond' io m' entraffi.”

Milton, in this book, appears to have often consulted this fine canto of his favourite, Dante.

Ver. 140. ————— *the ranks ascend*

*Shade above shade, a woody theatre*

*Of stateliest view.*] So, in Sidney's *Arcadia*,

1633, p. 68. “ About it (as if it had beene to inclose a theatre) grew such sort of trees as either excellency of fruit, *stateliness* of growth, continual greenesse, &c. have made at any time famous. They became a gallery aloft from tree to tree almost round about &c.” I am indebted to G. Steevens, Esq; for this illustration from Sidney.

I find also in Harington's *Polindor and Flostella*, 1651, p. 5, that, in the description of a grove, the “ *theatrick fashion*” is noticed. Goldsmith, in his *Traveller*, has thus painted Italy :

“ Its uplands, sloping, deck the mountain's side,

“ *Woods over woods in gay theatrick pride.*”

It is probable, that some of the sweet views in Italy were here in Milton's mind. It must not be forgotten that Virgil, in his fifth *Æneid*, describes a natural theatre. And Lycophron, *Cassand.* 600, edit. Potter, has the following phrase, *Θιατρομόρφου κλίτου*.



Of goodliest trees, loaden with fairest fruit,  
 Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,  
 Appear'd, with gay enamell'd colours mix'd:  
 On which the sun more glad impress'd his beams  
 Than in fair evening cloud, or humid bow, 151

Ver. 147. ————— with fairest fruit,

Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,] Dr. Bentley reads *fruits* in the first verse, because *fruits* follows in the next: But I should chuse to read *fruit* in both places; because I observe when Milton speaks of what is hanging on the trees, he calls it *fruit* in the singular number (when gathered, in the plural): See v. 249, and v. 422, B. v. 341, B. viii. 307, and *Comus*, v. 396.

“To save her *blossoms* and defend her *fruit*.” PEARCE.

Dr. Newton observes the same expression in B. vii. 325, 326. Mr. Bowle, among other references, here notices Waller's description, in the *Summer-Islands*; where the distinction is not regarded:

“Ripe *fruits* and *blossoms* on the same trees live.”

I will add Mr. Bowle's quotation from Alcimus Avitus, Archbishop of Vienna in the fifth century; of *Paradise, De Orig. Mundi*, Lib. ii. v. 6.

“Nam si curvati sæcundo pondere rami

“Mittunt sublimi ex arbore poma;

“Protinus in florem vacuus turgescere palmas,

“Incipit, inque novis fructum promittere gemmis.”

Ver. 151. *Than in fair evening cloud,*] Read, “*Than on fair evening cloud.*” BENTLEY.

I find I have been pre-occupied by Bentley, in making this slight emendation of *on* for *in*. We are to attend to the effect of the sun on the evening cloud, and the rainbow, or its cloud. This reading makes the image plain. WARTON.

Bentley, it should be added, was also pre-occupied by Hume; whose paraphrase of the passage is, “*On* which the sun more

When God hath shower'd the earth ; so lovely  
seem'd

That landskip : And of pure now purer air  
Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires  
Vernal delight and joy, able to drive 155  
All sadness but despair : Now gentle gales,  
Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispenfe

pleased displayed his beams, than *on* gay western clouds, or the  
gawdy rainbow."

Ver. 152. ————— *so lovely seem'd*

*That landskip :*] The garden of Eden, as Mr.  
Warton observes, is absolutely of Milton's own creation. See  
note on *Comus*, v. 976.

Ver. 153. ————— *And of pure now purer air*

*Meets his approach, &c.]* Dante, *Purg.* c. xxviii.

" Un' aura dolce, senza mutamento

" Avere in fe, mi feria per la fronte,

" Non di più colpo, che soave vento."

Ver. 155. *Vernal delight and joy, able to drive*

*All sadness but despair :*] " Como el tiempo en  
que navegavan era el principio del mes de mayo, las flores de los  
arboles, y la verdura y rosas de los deleytosos campos eran en  
tanta abundancia, que qualquiera coraçon por triste que fuera  
hinchiera de mucha alegria." *Olivante de Laura*, L. i. c. 13, 31.  
And *Espinosa*, c. i. ft. 35.

" Hallaronse cerquita de muy ledo

" Puerto hermoso, y lleno de frescura,

" De arboles, naranjos, y frutales,

" *Bastante de sanar a dos mil males.*" BOWLE.

So, in Milton's *Treatate of Education* ; " In those vernal sea-  
sons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an  
injury and fullness against nature not to go out, and see her  
riches, and partake in her rejoicing with Heaven and Earth."

Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole  
 Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail  
 Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past 160  
 Mozambick, off at sea north-east winds blow  
 Sabean odours from the spicy shore

Ver. 158. ———— *and whisper whence they stole*

*Those balmy spoils.*] This fine passage is undoubtedly taken from as fine a one in Shakspeare's *Twelfth Night*,

————— “ like the sweet south,

“ That breathes upon a bank of violets,

“ *Stealing*, and giving odour :”

But much improved, as Dr. Greenwood remarks, by the addition of that beautiful metaphor included in the word *whisper*, which conveys to us a soft idea of the gentle manner in which they are communicated.

Mr. Thyer is still of opinion, that Milton rather alluded to the following lines of Ariosto's description of Paradise, where, speaking of the *dolce aura*, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxxiv. st. 51, he says,

“ E quella ai fiori, ai pomi, e alla verzura

“ Gli odor diversi depredando giva,

“ E di tutti faceva una mistura,

“ Che di soavità l' alma nutriva .”

“ The two first of these lines express the air's stealing the native perfumes ; and the two latter, that vernal delight which they give to the mind. Besides, it may be further observed, that this expression of the air's stealing and dispersing the sweets of flowers, is very common in the best Italian poets. To instance only in one more, Marino, *Adon.* c. i. st. 131.

“ Dolce confusione di mille odori

“ Sparge, e 'nvola volando aura predace.” NEWTON.

Ver. 161. ———— *off at sea north-east winds blow*

*Sabean odours, &c.*] Mr. Wakefield says, that Milton delineated this beautiful description from Diodorus Siculus, lib. iii. 45, where the aromatick plants in Sabea, or Arabia

Of Araby the blest ; with such delay  
Well pleas'd they slack their course, and many a  
league

Cheer'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles :  
So entertain'd those odorous sweets the Fiend, 166  
Who came their bane ; though with them better  
pleas'd

Than Asmodæus with the fishy fume  
That drove him, though enamour'd, from the  
spouse

Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent 170  
From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.

Now to the ascent of that steep savage hill  
Satan had journey'd on, pensive and slow ;  
But further way found none, so thick entwin'd,  
As one continued brake, the undergrowth 175

Felix, are described as yielding " inexpressible fragrance to the senses ; not unenjoyed even by the navigator, though he sails by at a great distance from the shore. For, in the spring, when the wind blows off land, the odour from the aromatick trees and plants diffuses itself over all the neighbouring sea." *Notes on Gray*, p. 10.

So Sir W. Jones relates, in his Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern nations, that the valuable spice-trees, and balsamick plants, which grow in Arabia Felix, give, without speaking poetically, a real perfume to the air ; and the writer of an old history of the Turkish empire says, " The air of Egypt sometimes in summer is like any sweet perfume, and almost suffocates the spirits, caused by the wind that brings the odour of the Arabian spices."

See also Ariosto's description of the Isle of Cyprus, *Orl. Fur.* c. xviii. st. 138, Waller's *Night-Piece*, and Reed's *Old Plays*, vol. xi. p. 360.

Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplex'd  
 All path of man or beast that pass'd that way.  
 One gate there only was, and that look'd east  
 On the other side: which when the arch-felon saw,  
 Due entrance he disdain'd; and, in contempt, 180  
 At one flight bound high over-leap'd all bound  
 Of hill or highest wall, and sheer within  
 Lights on his feet. As when a prowling wolf,

Ver. 177. *All path of man or beast that pass'd that way.*] Satan is now come to the ascent of the hill of Paradise, which was so overgrown with thicket and underwood, that neither man nor beast could pass that way. "That pass'd that way," that *would have pass'd*; a remarkable manner of speaking, not unlike that in B. ii. 642, "So seem'd far off the Fiend," that is, speaking strictly, *would have seem'd* if any one had been there to have seen him. The same manner of speaking may be observed in the best classic authors. Thus Euripides, *Ion*, v. 1326.

Ἦκυσας, ὡς μ' ἔκλινον ἦδε μηχαναῖς;

"Have you heard how she *killed* me," that is, *would have killed* me. NEWTON.

Ver. 181. *At one flight bound high over-leap'd all bound Of hill &c.*] Mr. Steevens cites this passage, in order to keep Shakspeare in countenance, *Rom. and Jul.* A. i. S. iv.

"I am too sore enpierced with his shaft,

"To soar with his light feathers; and so bound,

"I cannot bound a pitch above dull woe."

Ver. 183. *As when a prowling wolf,*] A wolf is often the subject of a simile in Homer and Virgil, but here is considered in a new light; and perhaps never furnished out a stronger resemblance: And the hint of this, and the additional simile of a *thief*, seem to have been taken from *John* x. 1. "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber." NEWTON.

Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,  
 Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve  
 In hurdled cotes amid the field secure, 186  
 Leaps o'er the fence with ease into the fold :  
 Or as a thief, bent to unhoard the cash  
 Of some rich burgher, whose substantial doors,  
 Cross-barr'd and bolted fast, fear no assault, 190  
 In at the window climbs, or o'er the tiles :  
 So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold ;  
 So since into his church lewd hirelings climb.  
 Thence up he flew, and on the tree of life,  
 The middle tree and highest there that grew, 195  
 Sat like a cormorant ; yet not true life

Perhaps the simile of the *wolf* is taken from Tasso, *Gier. Lib.*  
 c. xix. st. 35.

“ Qual lupo predatore a l' aer bruno  
 “ Le chiuse mandre, insidiando, aggira,  
 “ Secco l' avide fauci, e nel digiuno  
 “ Da nativo odio stimolato, e d' ira.”

Ver. 193. ————— lewd *hirelings*] See note on  
*Lycidas*, 114. And compare *Acts*, xvii. 5. “ Certain lewd  
 fellows of the baser sort,” that is, *profligate* or *ignorant*.

Ver. 195. *The middle tree and highest there that grew*,] “ The  
 tree of life also in the midst of the garden.” *Gen.* ii. 9. *In the*  
*midst* is a Hebrew phrase, expressing not only the local situation  
 of this enlivening tree, but denoting its excellency, as being  
 the most considerable, the tallest, goodliest, and most lovely tree  
 in that beauteous garden planted by God himself: So Scotus,  
 Duran, Valesius, &c, whom our poet follows, affirming it the  
*highest there that grew*. “ To him that overcometh will I give  
 to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise  
 of God.” *Rev.* ii. 7. HUME.

Ver. 196. *Sat like a cormorant* ;] Possibly Milton might take

Thereby regain'd, but fat devising death  
 To them who liv'd; nor on the virtue thought  
 Of that life-giving plant, but only us'd  
 For prospect, what well us'd had been the pledge  
 Of immortality. So little knows 201  
 Any, but God alone, to value right  
 The good before him, but perverts best things

the hint of exhibiting Satan as a bird from the transformations of the Devil mentioned by Avitus, Lib. ii. v. 65.

“ Alitis interdum subito mentita volantis

“ Fit species.” BOWLE.

Ibid. ——— yet not true life &c.] The poet here moralizes, and reprehends Satan for making no better use of the tree of life. He sat upon it, but did not thereby regain true life to himself; but sat devising death to others who were alive. Neither did he think at all on the virtues of the tree, but used it only for the convenience of prospect, when it might have been used, so as to have been a pledge of immortality. And so he perverted the best of things *to worst abuse*, by sitting upon the tree of life devising death; or *to meanest use*, by using it only for prospect, when he might have applied it to nobler purposes. But what use then would our author have had Satan to have made of the tree of life? Would eating of it have altered his condition, or have rendered him more immortal than he was already? What other use then could he have made of it, unless he had taken occasion from thence to reflect duly on life and immortality, and thereby had put himself in a condition to regain true life and a happy immortality? If the poet had not some such meaning as this, it is not easy to say what is the sense of the passage. Mr. Thyer thinks, that the *well us'd*, in this passage, relates to our first parents, and not to Satan: but I conceive that *well us'd*, and *only us'd*, must both refer to the same person: And what *ill use* did our first parents make of the tree of life? They did not use it till before the Fall; and, after the Fall, they were not permitted to use or eat of it at all. NEWTON.

To worst abuse, or to their meanest use.  
 Beneath him with new wonder now he views, 205  
 To all delight of human sense expos'd,  
 In narrow room, Nature's whole wealth, yea  
 more,

A Heaven on Earth : For blissful Paradise  
 Of God the garden was, by him in the east  
 Of Eden planted ; Eden stretch'd her line 210  
 From Auran eastward to the royal towers  
 Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian kings,  
 Or where the sons of Eden long before  
 Dwelt in Telassar : In this pleasant soil  
 His far more pleasant garden God ordain'd ; 215

Ver. 209. *Of God the garden was, by him in the east  
 Of Eden planted ;*] So the sacred text, *Gen. ii. 8.*  
*"And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden,"* that is,  
 eastward of the place where Moses wrote his history, though  
 Milton says *in the east of Eden* ; and then we have in a few lines  
 our author's topography of Eden. This province (in which the  
 terrestrial Paradise was planted) extended from *Auran*, a city of  
 Mesopotamia near the river Euphrates, eastward to *Seleucia*, a  
 city built by Seleucus one of the successors of Alexander the  
 Great, upon the river Tigris. Or, in other words, this province  
 was the same, where the children of Eden dwelt in *Telassar*, (as  
 Isaiah says chap. xxxvii. 12.) which *Telassar* was a province and  
 a city of the children of Eden, placed by Ptolomy in Babylonia,  
 upon the common streams of Tigris and Euphrates. See Sir  
 Isaac Newton's *Chronol.* p. 275. So that our author places Eden,  
 agreeably to the accounts in Scripture, somewhere in Mesopo-  
 tamia. NEWTON.

Ver. 214. ————— *In this pleasant soil  
 His far more pleasant garden God ordain'd ;*] It is  
 observable that *Aden*, in the Eastern dialects, is precisely the  
 same word with *Eden*, which we apply to the garden of Paradise :



Out of the fertile ground he caus'd to grow  
 All trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste ;  
 And all amid them stood the tree of life,  
 High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit  
 Of vegetable gold ; and next to life, 220  
 Our death, the tree of knowledge, grew fast by,  
 Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill.  
 Southward through Eden went a river large,  
 Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggy  
 hill 224

Pafs'd underneath ingulf'd ; for God had thrown  
 That mountain as his garden-mould high rais'd  
 Upon the rapid current, which, through veins  
 Of porous earth with kindly thirst up-drawn,  
 Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill

It has two senses, according to a slight difference in its pronunciation ; its first meaning is *a settled abode*, its second, *delight, softness, or tranquillity* : The word *Eden* had, probably, one of these senses in the sacred text, though we use it as a proper name. SIR W. JONES.

Ver. 223. *Southward through Eden went a river large,*] This is most probably the river formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, which flows *southward*, and must needs be a *river large* by the joining of two such mighty rivers. Upon this river it is supposed by the best commentators that the terrestrial Paradise was situated. Milton calls this river Tigris in B. ix. 71.

NEWTON.

Ver. 229. *Rose a fresh fountain, &c.*] Compare Dante, *Purg.* c. xxviii.

“ L' acqua, che vedi, non surge di vena,  
 “ Che ristori vapor, che giel converta,  
 “ Come fiume, ch' acquista o perde lena ;  
 “ Ma esce di fontana calda e certa.”

Water'd the garden ; thence united fell 230  
 Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,  
 Which from his darksome passage now appears,  
 And now, divided into four main streams,  
 Runs diverse, wandering many a famous realm  
 And country, whereof here needs no account ; 235  
 But rather to tell how, if Art could tell,  
 How from that sapphire fount the crisped brooks,  
 Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,  
 With mazy error under pendant shades  
 Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed 240  
 Flowers worthy of Paradise, which not nice Art

Ver. 233. *And now, divided into four main streams,*] This is grounded upon the words of Moses, *Gen. ii. 10.* "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads." NEWTON.

On this subject, however, see Huet's Treatise *De la Situation du Paradis Terrestre*, Paris, 1711, Chapitre iv.

Milton, at the same time that he judiciously avoids a minute description of the river and its divisions, appears also to have followed an elegant account of Paradise, in which the same distinctions are made : "In ipso hortorum apice fons est eximius, qui primùm argenteis aquarum vorticibus ebulliens, mox diffusus in fluvium sinuosis flexibus, atque mæandris concisus oberrat, et felicia arva perennibus fœcundat rivulis. Ad summum in quatuor salientes divisus celeberrimos amnes efficit, qui, varias terrarum plagas interfecantes, pingui ac feraci limo rigant." P. CAUSINUS de Eloq. lib. xi. edit. 1634.

Ver. 238. *Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,*] Pactolus, Hermus, and other rivers, are described by the poets as having golden sands ; but the description is made richer here, and the water rolls on the choicest pearls as well as on sands of gold. *Orient pearl* occurs in Shakspeare's *Rich. III.* in Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, and in Jonson's *Fox*. NEWTON.

In bed's and curious knots, but Nature boon  
 Pour'd forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain,  
 Both where the morning sun first warmly smote  
 The open field, and where the unpierc'd shade 245

Ver. 244. *Both where the morning sun first warmly smote  
 The open field,*] This is a manner of expression  
 unusual in our language, and plainly borrowed from the Italian  
 poets, with whom it is very common. Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.*  
 c. viii. st. 20.

“ *Percote il sole ardente il vicin colle.*”

Again, c. x. st. 35.

“ *Percote il sol nel colle, e fa ritorno.*” THYER.

Mr. Thyer must have forgotten these passages in Spenser,  
*Facr. Qu.* ii. xii. 63.

“ The sunny beames, which on the billowes *beat*.”

*Ib.* iii. v. 49.

“ When the bright sun his beames thereon doth *beat*.”

So Chapman, *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*, 1595, v. 3.

———“ with right beames the sun her bosom *beat*.”

And Fletcher, *Faithful Shepherds*, A. iv.

“ The hot sun *beats* on it.”

Valerius Flaccus makes use of the same expression, *Argonaut*  
 i. 496. “ *Percussaque sole—scuta.*” BOWLE.

See also R. Niccols, in the *Mir. for Mag.* 1610, p. 875.

“ While *heaven's light* the earth's broad face shall *smite*.”

And *Psal.* cxxi. 6. Old translation. “ The sun shall not  
 “ *smite* thee by day.”

Ver. 245. ————— *the unpierc'd shade*] So, in  
 Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song vii.

“ In gloomie secret *shades* not *piec't* with sommer's sunne.”

Imbrown'd the noontide bowers : Thus was this  
place

A happy rural seat of various view ;

Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and  
balm,

Others whose fruit, burnish'd with golden rind,  
Hung amiable, Hesperian fables true, 250

Ver. 246. *Imbrown'd the noontide bowers :*] Mr. Thyer observes, that a person must be acquainted with the Italian language to discern the force and exact propriety of this term : it is a word which their poets make use of to describe any thing shaded. To Mr. Thyer's instances of the word thus used, Mr. Warton adds others, in his note on *Sonnet* iii. v. 1. which see.

Ver. 248. ——— wept odorous gums and balm,] *Wept*, by the same beautiful metaphor, as Ovid says of the myrrh-tree, *Met.* x. 500.

“ *Flet tamen : et tepidæ manant ex arbore guttæ :*

“ *Est honor et lacrymis.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 250. *Hesperian fables true, &c.*] Dr. Bentley prefers *apples* to *fables*, and asks how *fables* can be true any where ? If they cannot, I wonder how the Doctor in his edition of Phædrius, suffered the following passage to stand without any censure,

“ *Hanc emendare, si tamen possum, volo*

“ *Vera fabella.*”

The first and most proper sense of the word *fabula*, as all the dictionaries inform us, is something commonly talked of, whether true or false : And if Milton used the word *fable* so here, the sense is clear of the objection. But the Doctor would rather throw out the words *Hesperian apples* (or *fables*) *true, If true, here only*, because (says he) *the Hesperian apples* are represented by the poets as of solid gold, far from being of *delicious taste*. This objection is answered by reading, as I think we ought to do, the whole passage thus,

If true, here only, and of delicious taste :  
 Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks  
 Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd,  
 Or palmy hillock ; or the flowery lap  
 Of some irriguous valley spread her store, 255  
 Flowers of all hue, and without thorn the rose :

“ Others, whose fruit burnish'd with golden rind  
 “ Hung amiable, (Hesperian fables true,  
 “ If true, here only) and of delicious taste.” PEARCE.

*Fables, stories, as in B. xi. 11.* What is said of the Hesperian gardens is true here only ; if all is not pure invention, this garden was meant : And moreover these fruits have a delicious taste ; those there had none. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 255. *Of some irriguous valley*] *Will-watered, full of springs and rills* : It is the epithet of a garden in Horace, *Sat. II. iv. 16.*

“ *Irriguo nihil est elutius horto.*” HUME.

Ver. 256. ———— *and without thorn the rose :*] Dr. Bentley calls “ *the rose without thorn*” a puerile fancy. But it should be remembered, that it was part of the curse denounced upon the earth for Adam's transgression, that it should “ bring forth thorns and thistles,” *Gen. iii. 18.* Hence the general opinion has prevailed, that there were *no thorns* before ; which is enough to justify a poet, in saying “ *the rose was without thorn.*” NEWTON.

The “ *rose without thorn*” is a rarity. And, though it was fine to imagine such an one in Paradise, could only be an Italian refinement. Tasso is the original :

“ Senza quei suoi pungenti ispidi dumi  
 “ Spiegò le foglie la purpurea rosa.” HURD.

Our own poetry was in possession of this “ *rarity*,” before Milton's exhibition of it, supported by venerable authority. See Herrick's *Noble Numbers*, edit. 1647. p. 71.

“ Before man's fall, the *rose* was born  
 “ (ST. AMBROSE SAYES) *without the thorn.*”

Another side, umbrageous grots and caves  
 Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine  
 Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps  
 Luxuriant; meanwhile murmuring waters fall 260  
 Down the slope hills, dispers'd, or in a lake,  
 That to the fringed bank with myrtle crown'd  
 Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.  
 The birds their quire apply; airs, vernal airs,  
 Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune 265  
 The trembling leaves, while universal Pan,

St. Basil was of the same opinion. Milton, in his description of Paradise particularly, appears to have consulted the Fathers.

Ver. 264. *The birds their quire apply;* ] Spenser, *Fær. Qu.* iii. i. 40.

————— “sweet birds thereto applide

“Their dainty layes and dulcet melody.” BOWLER.

Ibid. ————— *airs, vernal airs,*

*Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune*

*The trembling leaves,*] Dante, *Purg.* c. xxviii.

“In questa altezza, che tutta è disciolta,

“Nell’ aer vivo, tal moto percuote,

“E fa sonar la selva, perch’ è folta:

“E la percoffa pianta tanto puote,

“Che della sua virtute l’ aura impregna,

“E quella poi girando intorno scuote.”

Compare also v. 156, “Now gentle gales, &c.”

Ver. 266. ————— *while universal Pan, &c.*] While universal Nature, linked with the graceful Seasons, danced a perpetual round, and throughout the earth, yet unpolluted, led eternal spring. All the poets favour the opinion of the world’s creation in the spring. See Virgil, *Georg.* II. 338, and Ovid. *Mét.* I. 107.

Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,  
 Led on the eternal spring. Not that fair field  
 Of Enna, where Proserpine gathering flowers,  
 Herself a fairer flower by gloomy Dis 270  
 Was gather'd, which cost Ceres all that pain  
 To seek her through the world; nor that sweet  
 grove  
 Of Daphne by Orontes, and the inspir'd

That the Graces were taken for the beautiful seasons, in which all things seem to dance and smile in an universal joy, is plain from Horace, *Od.* IV. vii. 1, &c. And Homer joins both the Graces and Hours hand in hand with Harmony, Youth, and Venus, in his Hymn to Apollo. HUMF.

Ver. 268. ———— *Not that fair field*

*Of Enna, &c.] Enna, the grove of Daphne, the Nysean Isle, and Mount Amara, are places celebrated by the ancients for their great beauty. RICHARDSON.*

Of the sweet grove of Daphne, see Strabo, Lib. xvi.

Ver. 269. ———— *where Proserpine gathering flowers,]* *Proserpine* is here pronounced with the accent on the second syllable, like the Latin, and as Spenser and the old English poets pronounce it. *Faer. Qu.* i. ii. 2.

“And sad *Proserpine's* wrath them to affright.” NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *where Proserpine gathering flowers,  
 Herself a fairer flower by gloomy Dis  
 Was gather'd,]* Ovid, *Met.* V. 391. of Enna:

————— “*Quo dum Proserpina Inco*

“*Ludit, et aut violas, aut candida lilia carpit,—*

“*Pœnè simul visa est, dilectâque, raptâque Diti.*”

Compare also Euripides, *Ion*, v. 889, &c. of Creusa.

Ver. 273. ———— *and the inspir'd*

*Castalian spring,]* Not that known one at the foot of Parnassus, but that of the grove of Daphne which foretold Hadrian's advancement to the empire. RICHARDSON.

Castalian spring, might with this Paradise  
 Of Eden strive; nor that Nyseian isle 275  
 Gift with the river Triton, where old Cham,  
 Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Lybian Jove,  
 Hid Amalthea, and her florid son  
 Young Bacchus, from his stepdame Rhea's eye;  
 Nor where Abassin kings their issue guard, 280  
 Mount Amara, though this by some suppos'd  
 True Paradise under the Ethiop line

Ver. 278. *Hid Amalthea, and her florid son*  
*Young Bacchus,*] Bacchus is commonly said to be  
 the son of Semele, not of Amalthea; but Milton here follows  
 Diodorus Siculus, who quotes a most ancient poet as his authority.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 280. ——— *Abassin kings*] Kings of Upper Ethiopia,  
 or *Abyssinia*. The inhabitants of this country were called by  
 the neighbouring Arabians *Habassi*, whence *Abissenes* or *Abassins*  
 in our language. See Purchas's *Pilgrimage*, 1626, vol. v. p. 734.

Ver. 281. *Mount Amara,*] The following passage from  
 Heylin's *Microcosmus*, 1627, will explain what Milton relates of  
 this mountain. "The hill of Amara is a *dayes journey high*:  
 on the toppe whereof are 34 pallaces, *in which the younger sonnes*  
*of the emperour are continuallie inclosed*, to avoide sedition. They  
 enjoy there whatsoeuer is fit for delight or princely education,  
 &c. This mountaine hath but one ascent vp, which is *impreg-*  
*nable fortified*, and was destinate to this use anno 470, or there-  
 abouts."

Ver. 282. ——— *under the Ethiop line &c.*] Under the  
 Equinoctial line, "where the sunne may take his best view  
 thereof, as not encountering in all his long journey with the like  
 theatre, wherein the Graces and Muses are actors, &c. Once,  
 Heauen and Earth, Nature and Industrie, haue been all corruials  
 to it, all presenting their best presents, to make it of this so  
 lovely presence; *some taking this for the place of our Fore-fathers*  
*Paradise*."



By Nilus' head, enclos'd with shining rock,  
 A whole day's journey high, but wide remote  
 From this Assyrian garden, where the Fiend 285  
 Saw, undelighted, all delight, all kind  
 Of living creatures, new to sight, and strange.  
 Two of far nobler shape, erect and tall,  
 Godlike erect, with native honour clad  
 In naked majesty seem'd lords of all : 290  
 And worthy seem'd ; for in their looks divine  
 The image of their glorious Maker shone,  
 Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure,

" The top is a plaine field, onely toward the South is a rising hil, beautifying this plaine, as it were with a watch-tower, not serving alone to the eye, but yeelding also a pleasant spring which passeth through all that plaine, paying his tributes to every garden that will exact it, and making a lake, whence issueth a riuer, which, hauing from these tops espied Nilus, neuer leaues seeking to finde him, whom he cannot leaue both to seeke and finde, that by his direction and conueyance hee may together with him present himselfe before the father and great king of waters, the Sea." Purchas's *Pilgrimage*, 1626, vol. v. p. 743.

Ver. 285. *From this Assyrian garden,*] Milton here follows Strabo, who comprehends *Mesopotamia* in the ancient *Assyria*.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 293. *Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure,*

(*Severe, but in true filial freedom plac'd,*)

*Whence true authority in men ;*] The middle verse ought to have been put thus in a parenthesis ; for the *true authority in men* arises, not from *filial freedom*, but from their having *truth, wisdom, and sanctitude severe and pure*, that is, strict holiness ; which are qualities that give to magistrates *true authority*, that proper authority which they may want, who yet have legal authority. This is Milton's meaning : and, for explaining the word *severe*, he inserts a verse, to show that he does not

(Severe, but in true filial freedom plac'd,) Whence true authority in men; though both 295  
Not equal, as their sex not equal seem'd;  
For contemplation he and valour form'd;  
For softness she and sweet attractive grace;  
He for God only, she for God in him:

mean such a *sanctitude* or holiness as is rigid and austere, but such as is *plac'd in filial freedom*; alluding to the scriptural expressions, which represent good Christians as *free* and as the *sons* of God: on which foundation our obedience (from whence our sanctitude arises) is a *filial*, and not a slavish one; a reverence, rather than a fear, of the Deity. NEWTON.

Ver. 295. ————— *though both*

*Not equal, as their sex not equal seem'd;*] Let us compare this, and what follows in the twelve subsequent lines, with what a certain writer has said upon the same subject; whom, from several passages in his work, it may reasonably be inferred that Milton consulted. "Likewise is the male sex preferred before the female in degree of place, and in dignity, as all will yield that consider the words of Scripture in that behalf: for the woman was made for man, and not man for the woman. He is the image and glory of God; Shee is his image and his glory: and nature has given her, her hair for a covering, as a natural badge of this her inferiority to the man." William Whateley's *Bride-Bush*, 1619, p. 201. BOWLE.

Ver. 299. *He for God only, she for God in him:*] The author gave it thus, says Dr. Bentley,

"He for God only, she for God *and* him."

The opposition demonstrates this, and, ver. 440, Eve speaks to Adam,

————— "O thou *for whom*

"And from whom I was form'd—"



His fair large front and eye sublime declar'd 300  
 Absolute rule; and hyacinthine locks  
 Round from his parted forelock manly hung  
 Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad:  
 She, as a veil, down to the slender waist

Dr. Pearce approves this reading of Dr. Bentley, and to the proof which he brings, adds B. v. 150.

————— “made of thee  
 “And *for thee*.”

And indeed, though some have endeavoured to justify the common reading, yet this is so much better, that we cannot but wish it was admitted into the text. NEWTON.

Ver. 301. ————— hyacinthine locks] Minerva, in Homer, gives Ulysses *hyacinthine* locks, to make him look more beautiful, *Odyss.* vi. 232. Eustathius interprets *hyacinthine* by *black*; and Suidas, by *very dark brown*: And Milton, in like manner, means *brown* or *black* locks, distinguishing Adam's hair from Eve's in the colour, as well as in other particulars.

NEWTON.

Possibly Milton may mean, that Adam's locks were curled like the blossoms of the hyacinth, without any allusion to the colour. The passage in Homer, to which doctor Newton's note refers, is thus rendered by Cowper;

“His curling locks like hyacinthine flowers.”

Ver. 303. *Clustering*,] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, v. 54.

Ver. 304. *She, as a veil, down to the slender waist*  
*Her unadorned golden tresses &c.*] In like manner Marino paints his Venus. *Adon.* cant. viii. st. 46.

“Onde a guisa d'un vel dorato, e folto

“Celando il bianco seu trà l'onde loro,

“In mille minutissimi ruscelli

“Dal capo scaturir gli aurei capelli.”

The poet has, I think, showed great judgment and delicacy in avoiding in this place the entering into a circumstantial de-

Her unadorned golden tresses wore 305  
Dishevell'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd

description of Eve's beauty. It was, no doubt, a very tempting occasion of giving an indulgent loose to his fancy: since the most lavish imagination could not possibly carry too high the charms of woman, as she first came out of the hands of her heavenly Maker. But, as a picture of this kind would have been too light and gay for the graver turn of Milton's plan, he has very artfully mentioned the charms of her person in general terms only, and directed the reader's attention more particularly to the beauty of her mind. Most great poets have laboured in a particular manner the delineation of their beauties, (Ariosto's Alcina, Tasso's Armida, and Spenser's Belphebe,) and it is very probable that the portrait of Eve would have rivalled them all, if the chaste correctness of our author's Muse had not restrained him. THYER.

Ver. 305. ——— *golden tresses*] This sort of hair was most admired and celebrated by the ancients, I suppose as it usually betokens a fairer skin and finer complexion. It would be almost endless to quote passages to this purpose in praise of Helen, and the other famous beauties of antiquity. Venus herself, the Goddess of beauty, is described of this colour and complexion; and therefore is stiled *golden Venus*, χρυσήν Ἀφροδίτην, by Homer, and *Venus aurea* by Virgil. As Milton had the taste of the ancients in other things, so likewise in this particular. He must certainly have preferred this to all other colours, or he would never have bestowed it upon Eve, whom he designed as a pattern of beauty to all her daughters. And possibly he might at the same time intend a compliment to his wife; for I remember to have heard from a gentleman who had seen his widow in Cheshire, that she had hair of this colour. It is the more probable, that he intended a compliment to his wife in the drawing of Eve; as it is certain, that he drew the portrait of Adam not without regard to his own person, of which he had no mean opinion.

NEWTON.

As the vine curls her tendrils, which implied  
 Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway,  
 And by her yielded, by him best receiv'd,  
 Yielded with coy submission, modest pride, 310  
 And sweet, reluctant, amorous delay.  
 Nor those mysterious parts were then conceal'd;  
 Then was not guilty shame, dishonest shame  
 Of nature's works, honour dishonourable,

Ver. 307. ————— *which implied*

*Subjection,*] The poet manifestly alludes to St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xi. 14, 15. He adds, that this subjection was *requir'd* by him *with gentle sway, and yielded by her*, but it was *best receiv'd* by him, when yielded *with coy submission, modest pride, and sweet, reluctant, amorous delay*; which is expressed with more elegance than that admired passage in Horace, which no doubt Milton had in his thoughts, *Od.* II. xii. 26.

“ *facili sævitia negat*

“ *Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi,*

“ *Interdum rapere occupat.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 311. *And sweet, reluctant, amorous delay.*] Copied literally by Pope, *Od.* ix. 32.

“ *With sweet, reluctant, amorous delay.*”

Ver. 313. ————— *honour dishonourable,*] He alludes to I. Cor. xii. 24. “ *And those members of the body, which we think to be less honourable; upon these we bestow more abundant honour.*” But that *honour*, is really a *dishonour*; a token of our fall, and an indication of our guilt. Innocent nature made no such distinction. NEWTON.

Milton uses the phrase, in his *Colasterion*: “ *Belike then the wrongful suffering of all those sad-breaches and abuses in marriage to a remediless thralldom, is the strength and honour of marriage; a boisterous and bestial strength, a dishonourable honour.*”

Sin-bred, how have ye troubled all mankind 315  
 With shows instead, mere shows of seeming pure,  
 And banish'd from man's life his happiest life,  
 Simplicity and spotless innocence !  
 So pass'd they naked on, nor shunn'd the sight  
 Of God or Angel ; for they thought no ill : 320  
 So hand in hand they pass'd, the loveliest pair,  
 That ever since in love's embraces met ;  
 Adam the goodliest man of men since born

Ver. 315. ——— how have ye troubled] Should we not read,

“ Sin-bred, how have *you* troubled”——

for, what is he speaking to besides *Shame* ? NEWTON.

Ver. 323. *Adam the goodliest man of men* &c.] These two lines are censured by Addison, and are totally rejected by Dr. Bentley, as implying that Adam was one of his sons, and Eve one of her daughters : But this manner of expression is borrowed from the Greek language, in which we find sometimes the superlative degree used instead of the comparative. The meaning therefore is, that Adam was a goodlier man than any of his sons, and Eve fairer than her daughters. So Achilles is said to have been *ἐκνικηρώτατος ἄλλων*, *Iliad*, i. 505 ; that is, more short-lived than others. So Nireus is said to have been the handsomest of the other Grecians, *Iliad*, ii. 673.

——— οἱ κάλλεισ' ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ Ἴλιον ἦλθε,  
 Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν,——

And the same manner of speaking has passed from the Greeks to the Latins. So a freed woman is called in Horace, *Sat.* I. i. 100, *fortissima Tyndaridarum*, not that she was one of the Tyndaridæ, but more brave than any of them. And, as Dr. Pearce observes, so Diana is said by one of the poets to have been *comitum pulcherrima*, not one of her own companions, but more handsome than any of them. And I believe a man would not

His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.  
 Under a tuft of shade that on a green 325  
 Stood whispering soft, by a fresh fountain side  
 They sat them down; and, after no more toil  
 Of their sweet gardening labour than suffic'd  
 To recommend cool Zephyr, and made ease  
 More easy, wholsome thirst and appetite 330  
 More grateful, to their supper-fruits they fell,  
 Nectarine fruits which the compliant boughs  
 Yielded them, side-long as they sat recline  
 On the soft downy bank damask'd with flowers:

be corrected for writing false English, who should say *the most learned of all others* instead of *more learned than all others*.

NEWTON,

Ver. 325. *Under a tuft of shade that on a green &c.*] The reader may compare this, and the nine following verses, with a description of the same kind in the *Sarcotis* of Mafenius; a poem, from which Milton has been charged with borrowing: And, though he may perceive some resemblance of thought and expression, accidental, I think, rather than imitative, he will acknowledge, in Milton's painting, those masterly beauties, and that exquisite colouring, which "give the world assurance" of his originality. See the *Sarcotis*, Lib. i. p. 93, edit. Barbou.

"Blanda quies, sed inempta placet; formosâque pictis

"Herba toris, roseo quam Chloris purpurat ostro,

"Quamque ornat Natura parens, ubi blandior aura

"Alludit placido somnum futura susurro.

"Hic mensæ genialis opes, et dapifilis arbor

"Fructibus inflexos, secundo palmitē, ramos

"Curvat ad obsequium, præbetque alimenta petenti."

Ver. 334. *On the soft downy bank damask'd with flowers:*] *To damask* the ground with flowers, was a favourite phrase among our old poets. Thus P. Fletcher, *Purp. Iss.* c. xii. st. 1,

The savoury pulp they chew, and in the rind, 335  
 Still as they thirsted, scoop the brimming stream ;  
 Nor gentle purpose, nor endearing smiles  
 Wanted, nor youthful dalliance, as befits  
 Fair couple, link'd in happy nuptial league,  
 Alone as they. About them frisking play'd 340  
 All beasts of the earth, since wild, and of all chase  
 In wood or wilderness, forest or den ;  
 Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw  
 Dandled the kid ; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,  
 Gamboll'd before them ; the unwieldy elephant,  
 To make them mirth, us'd all his might, and  
                   wreath'd 346  
 His lithe proboscis ; close the serpent fly,  
 Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine

————— “ upon the flowrie banks,  
 “ Where various flowers damaske the fragrant seat.”

See also G. Fletcher, *Christ's Vict.* p. ii. ft. 41. And Drayton,  
*Muses Eliz.* 1630. p. 1. Fenton, in his *Ode to Lord Gower*, has  
 copied Milton :

“ And damasking the ground with flowers.”

Ver. 337. *Nor gentle purpose,*] Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* iii. viii. 14.

“ He 'gan make gentle purpose to his dame.” THYER.

Ver. 347. *His lithe proboscis ;*] His limber trunk, so pliant  
 and useful to him, that Cicero calls it “ elephantorum manum,”  
 the elephant's hand. HUMER.

Ver. 348. *Insinuating,*] Wrapping, or rolling up, and as it  
 were embosoming himself. *Sinuosus* and *sinuare*, are words often  
 used by Virgil, to express the winding motions of this wily  
 animal, HUMER.



His braided train, and of his fatal guile  
 Gave proof unheeded ; others on the grafs 350  
 Couch'd, and now fill'd with pasture gazing fat,  
 Or bedward ruminating ; for the sun,  
 Declin'd, was hasting now with prone career  
 To the ocean ifles, and in the ascending scale  
 Of Heaven the stars that usher evening rose : 355

Ver. 349. ———— *and of his fatal guile*

*Gave proof unheeded ;*] That intricate form, into which he put himself, was a sort of symbol or type of his fraud, though not then regarded. RICHARDSON.

Milton is larger in the description of the serpent, than of any of the other animals, and very judiciously, as he is afterwards made the instrument of so much mischief: And at the same time he gives an intimation of his *fatal guile*, to prepare the reader for what follows. NEWTON.

Ver. 352. *Or bedward ruminating ;*] Chewing the cud before they go to rest. HUME.

Thomson, in his *Summer*, paints his herds from Milton :

————— “ on the grassy bank  
 “ Some *ruminating* lie.”

And Milton probably had Ariosto in view, as Mr. Bowle also observes, *Orl. Fur.* c. vi. st. 22.

“ Sicuri si vedean lepri, e conigli,  
 “ E cervi con la fronte alta e superba ;  
 “ Senza temer, ch' alcun gli uccida, o pigli,  
 “ Pascono, o stanfi *ruminando* l' erba.”

Ver. 354. ———— *in the ascending scale*

*Of Heaven*] Milton seems to have borrowed his metaphor of the *scales* of Heaven, weighing night and day, the one ascending as the other sinks, from the heavenly sign, *Libra*, or the *balance* ; for when the sun is in that sign, as he is at the autumnal equinox, the days and nights are equal, as if weighed in a balance. NEWTON.

When Satan still in gaze, as first he stood,  
Scarce thus at length fail'd speech recover'd sad.

O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold!  
Into our room of blifs thus high advanc'd  
Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps, 360  
Not Spirits, yet to heavenly Spirits bright  
Little inferiour; whom my thoughts pursue  
With wonder, and could love, so lively shines  
In them divine resemblance, and such grace  
The hand that form'd them on their shape hath  
pour'd. 365

Ah! gentle pair, ye little think how nigh  
Your change approaches, when all these delights  
Will vanish, and deliver ye to woe;  
More woe, the more your taste is now of joy;  
Happy, but for so happy ill secur'd 370  
Long to continue, and this high seat your Heaven  
Ill fenc'd for Heaven to keep out such a foe  
As now is enter'd; yet no purpos'd foe  
To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,  
Though I unpitied: League with you I seek, 375  
And mutual amity, so strait, so close,

Ver. 357. *Scarce thus at length fail'd speech recover'd sad.*] Though Satan came in quest of Adam and Eve, yet he is struck with such astonishment at the sight of them, that it is a long time before he can recover his speech, and break forth into this soliloquy: And, at the same time, this dumb admiration of Satan gives the poet the better opportunity of enlarging his description of them. This is very beautiful. NEWTON.

Ver. 362. *Little inferiour;*] See *Psalms* viii. 5, and Heb. ii. 7. NEWTON,

That I with you must dwell, or you with me  
 Henceforth ; my dwelling haply may not please,  
 Like this fair Paradise, your sense ; yet such  
 Accept your Maker's work ; he gave it me, 380  
 Which I as freely give : Hell shall unfold,  
 To entertain you two, her widest gates,  
 And send forth all her kings ; there will be room,  
 Not like these narrow limits, to receive  
 Your numerous offspring ; if no better place, 385  
 Thank him who puts me loth to this revenge  
 On you who wrong me not for him who wrong'd.  
 And should I at your harmless innocence  
 Melt, as I do, yet publick reason just,

Ver. 381. ————— *Hell shall unfold,*

*To entertain you two, her widest gates,*

*And send forth all her kings ;]* *Isaiah xiv. 9.*

“ Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming : it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth : it hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations.” GILLIES.

Ver. 389. ————— *yet publick reason just, &c.]* Publick reason *compels me* ; and that publick reason is honour and empire enlarged with revenge, by conquering this new world. And thus Satan is made to plead *publick reason just*, and *necessity*, to *excuse his devilish deeds* ; the *tyrant's plea*, as the poet calls it ; probably with a view to his own times, and particularly to the plea for ship-money. NEWTON.

The same plea is said to have been Cromwell's apology for the murder of the king. For it is related that, on the evening of the execution of Charles, the arch-hypocrite walked round the corpse, as it lay in one of the rooms at Whitehall, muffled up in a long black cloak, and repeating to himself, “ Dreadful necessity !” See *Europ. Mag.* vol. xx. p. 106, and *Anecdotes of distinguished persons, &c.* vol. i. p. 254.

Honour and empire with revenge enlarg'd, 390  
By conquering this new world, compels me now  
To do what else, though damn'd, I should abhor.

So spake the Fiend, and with necessity,  
The tyrant's plea, excus'd his devilish deeds.  
Then from his lofty stand on that high tree 395  
Down he alights among the sportful herd  
Of those four-footed kinds, himself now one,  
Now other, as their shape serv'd best his end  
Nearer to view his prey, and, unespied, 399  
To mark what of their state he more might learn,  
By word or action mark'd : About them round  
A lion now he stalks with fiery glare ;  
Then as a tiger, who by chance hath spied  
In some purlieu two gentle fawns at play,  
Straight couches close, then, rising, changes oft 405  
His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground,  
Whence rushing he might surest seize them both,  
Grip'd in each paw : when Adam, first of men,  
To first of women, Eve, thus moving speech, 409  
Turn'd him, all ear to hear new utterance flow.

Ver. 402. *A lion now he stalks with fiery glare ;*] It is not improbable, that Milton might borrow the metamorphosis of Satan, on his first sight of Paradise, from the Pagan idea of the transformation of Bacchus, Euripid. *Bacchæ*. v. 1015. ed. Barnes.

Φάνθη ταῦρος, ἡ πολέκμωνος γ' ἰδίῃ  
Δράκων, ἡ περιφλύγων  
Ὀρᾶσθαι λίον.

And this probability is increased by the image, which conveys the idea of the περιφλύγων λίον. Joddrell's *Illustr. of Euripides*, vol. ii. p. 452.

Ver. 410. *Turn'd him, all ear*] See note on *Comus*, v. 560.

Sole partner, and sole part, of all these joys,  
 Dearer thyself than all ; needs must the Power  
 That made us, and for us this ample world,  
 Be infinitely good, and of his good  
 As liberal and free as infinite ; 415  
 That rais'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here  
 In all this happiness, who at his hand  
 Have nothing merited, nor can perform  
 Aught whercof he hath need ; he who requires  
 From us no other service than to keep 420  
 This one, this easy charge, of all the trees  
 In Paradise that bear delicious fruit

Ver. 411. *Sole partner, and sole part, of all these joys,*] So the passage ought to be read, I think, with a comma after *part*: And *of* here signifies *among*. The sense is, "Among all these joys thou alone art my partner, and, what is more, thou alone art part of me, as in v. 487,

"Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee claim  
 "My other half."

*Of*, in Milton, frequently signifies *among*. PEARCE.

Ver. 419. *Aught whercof he hath need;*] *Acts* xvii. 25. "Neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though *he needed* any thing." GILLIES.

Ver. 421. *This one, this easy charge, &c.*] It was very natural for Adam to discourse of this ; and this was what Satan wanted more particularly to learn: And it is expressed from God's command, *Gen.* ii. 16, 17.

In like manner, when Adam says afterwards "*dominion given over all other creatures &c.*" it is taken from the divine commission, *Gen.* i. 28. These things are so evident, that it is almost superfluous to mention them. If we take notice of them, it is that every reader may be sensible how much of Scripture our author has wrought into this divine poem. NEWTON.

So various, not to taste that only tree  
Of knowledge, planted by the tree of life ;  
So near grows death to life, whate'er death is, 425  
Some dreadful thing no doubt ; for well thou  
know'ft

God hath pronounc'd it death to taste that tree,  
The only sign of our obedience left,  
Among so many signs of power and rule  
Conferr'd upon us, and dominion given 430  
Over all other creatures that possess  
Earth, air, and sea. Then let us not think hard  
One easy prohibition, who enjoy  
Free leave so large to all things else, and choice  
Unlimited of manifold delights : 435  
But let us ever praise him, and extol  
His bounty, following our delightful task,  
To prune these growing plants, and tend these  
flowers,  
Which were it toilsome, yet with thee were  
sweet.

To whom thus Eve replied. O thou for  
whom 440  
And from whom I was form'd, flesh of thy flesh,  
And without whom am to no end, my guide  
And head ! what thou hast said is just and right.  
For we to him indeed all praises owe,  
And daily thanks ; I chiefly, who enjoy 445  
So far the happier lot, enjoying thee  
Pre-eminent by so much odds, while thou  
Like comfort to thyself canst no where find.

That day I oft remember, when from sleep  
 I first awak'd, and found myself repos'd 450  
 Under a shade on flowers, much wondering where  
 And what I was, whence thither brought, and  
 how.

Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound  
 Of waters issued from a cave, and spread  
 Into a liquid plain, then stood unmov'd 455  
 Pure as the expanse of Heaven; I thither went  
 With unexperient thought, and laid me down  
 On the green bank, to look into the clear

Ver. 449. *That day I oft remember,*] From this, as well as several other passages in the poem, it appears, that the poet supposes Adam and Eve to have been created, and to have lived many days in Paradise before the Fall. See B. iv. 639, 680, 712, and B. v. 31, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 450. *I first awak'd,*] As death is often compared to *sleep*, so our coming into life may well be likened to *waking*: And Adam speaks in the same figure, B. viii. 253.

“As *new-awak'd* from soundest sleep, &c.”

If we compare his account of himself upon his creation, with this here given by Eve; the beauty and propriety of each will appear to greater advantage. NEWTON.

Ver. 451. *Under a shade on flowers,*] The second edition reads, “Under a shade *of* flowers,” which has been followed in Tonson’s earlier editions; but Tickell, Fenton, Bentley, and Newton, rightly follow the first edition, “Under a shade *on* flowers.” To repose *on flowers under a shade*, is so elegant an expression; and to repose *merely under a shade of flowers*, so insignificant; that I am persuaded the reading of the second edition must be an error of the press.

Ver. 458. ————— to look into the clear

*Smooth lake,*] This account that Eve gives of her coming to a lake, and there falling in love with her own image,

Smooth lake, that to me seem'd another sky.  
 As I bent down to look, just opposite 460  
 A shape within the watery gleam appear'd,  
 Bending to look on me : I started back,  
 It started back ; but pleas'd I soon return'd,  
 Pleas'd it return'd as soon with answering looks  
 Of sympathy and love : There I had fix'd 465  
 Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,  
 Had not a voice thus warn'd me, " What thou  
 see'st,  
 " What there thou see'st, fair Creature, is thyself ;  
 " With thee it came and goes : but follow me,  
 " And I will bring thee where no shadow stays 470  
 " Thy coming, and thy soft embraces, he  
 " Whose image thou art ; him thou shalt enjoy  
 " Inseparably thine, to him shalt bear  
 " Multitudes like thyself, and thence be call'd  
 " Mother of human race." What could I do, 475

when she had seen no other human creature, is much more probable and natural, as well as more delicate and beautiful, than the famous story of Narcissus in Ovid ; from whom Milton manifestly took the hint, and has expressly imitated some passages : but has avoided all his puerilities without losing any of his beauties ; as the reader may easily observe by comparing both together, *Met.* iii. 457.

" Spem mihi nescio quam vultu promittis amico :

" Cúmque ego porrexi tibi brachia, porrigis ultro :

" Cum risi, arrides : Lacrymas quoque sæpe notavi,

" Me lacrymante, tuas. —————

" Ista reperculsæ, quam cernis, imaginis umbra est :

" Nil habet ista sui : Têcum venítque, manétque ;

" Têcum discedet, si tu discedere possis." NEWTON.



But follow straight, invifibly thus led?  
 Till I efpied thee, fair indeed and tall,  
 Under a platane; yet methought lefs fair,  
 Lefs winning foft, lefs amiably mild, 479  
 Than that fmooth watery image: Back I turn'd;  
 Thou following cry'dft aloud, " Return fair  
     Eve,  
 " Whom fly'ft thou? whom thou fly'ft, of him  
     thou art,  
 " His flefh, his bone; to give thee being I lent  
 " Out of my fide to thee, neareft my heart,  
 " Subftantial life, to have thee by my fide 485  
 " Henceforth an individual folace dear;  
 " Part of my foul I feek thee, and thee claim  
 " My other half:" With that thy gentle hand  
 Seis'd mine: I yielded; and from that time fee  
 How beauty is excell'd by manly grace, 490  
 And wifdom, which alone is truly fair.

Ver. 478. *Under a platane;*] The *plane-tree*, fo named  
 from the breadth of its leaves, πλατὺς, Greek, *broad*; a tree  
 ufeul and delightful for its extraordinary fhade, Virgil, *Georg.*  
*iv.* 146.

" Jamque miniftrantem *platanum* potantibus umbram."

HUME.

Tickell and Fenton corruptly read " a *plantan*;" a tree very  
 different from that which Milton means.

Ver. 483. *His flefh, his bone;*] The Scripture expreffion,  
*Gen.* ii. 23; as, afterwards, " *Part of my foul, My other half*,"  
 is from Horace, *Od.* I. iii. 8. " *Animæ dimidium meæ.*"

NEWTON.

So spake our general mother, and with eyes  
 Of conjugal attraction unprov'd,  
 And meek surrender, half-embracing lean'd  
 On our first father; half her swelling breast 495  
 Naked met his, under the flowing gold  
 Of her loose tresses hid: he in delight  
 Both of her beauty, and submissive charms,  
 Smil'd with superiour love, as Jupiter

Ver. 492. *So spake our general mother, and with eyes  
 Of conjugal attraction unprov'd, &c.*] Spenser,  
*Faery Queen*, ii. vii. 16.

"But with glad thanks and *unprov'd* truth."

What a charming picture of love and innocence has the poet given us in this paragraph! There is the greatest warmth of affection, and yet the most exact delicacy and decorum. One would have thought that a scene of this nature could not, with any consistency, have been introduced into a divine poem; and yet our author has so nicely and judiciously covered the soft description with the veil of modesty, that the purest and chastest mind can find no room for offence. The *meek surrender*, and the *half embracement*, are circumstances inimitable. An Italian's imagination would have hurried him the length of ten or a dozen stanzas upon this occasion, and with its luxuriant wildness changed Adam and Eve into a Venus and Adonis. THYER.

Ver. 499. *Smil'd with superiour love, as Jupiter*

*On Juno smiles, &c.*] As the heaven smiles upon the air, when it makes the clouds and every thing fruitful in the spring. This seems to be the meaning of the allegory.

The expression of *the clouds bedding flowers* is very poetical, and not unlike that fine one of *the clouds dropping fatness*, Psalm lxxv. 12.

Then follows, *And prest'd her matron lip*, where the construction is, "Adam smil'd with superiour love, and prest'd her matron lip;" the simile being to be understood as included in a

On Juno smiles, when he impregns the clouds 500  
 That shed May flowers ; and press'd her matron lip  
 With kisses pure : Aside the Devil turn'd  
 For envy ; yet with jealous leer malign  
 Ey'd them askance, and to himself thus plain'd.

Sight hateful, sight tormenting ! thus these  
 two, 505  
 Imparadis'd in one another's arms,

parenthesis. Her *matron* lip evidently signifies her *married* lip, in distinction from a *virgin* lip, as Ovid, speaking of Lucretia then married, says *matron* cheeks, *Fast.* ii. 828.

“ Et *matronales* erubescere genæ.”

It implies that she was married to him, and that therefore their kisses were lawful and innocent. It was the innocence of their loves that made the Devil turn aside for envy. NEWTON.

Dr. Newton also supposes, that the loves of Jupiter and Juno, described in the fourteenth *Iliad*, might give occasion to this simile. Perhaps Pope thought the same, as, in his translation, he adopts Milton's phraseology, describing Jupiter “ *smiling with superior love,*” v. 387.

Ver. 500. ——— *when he impregns the clouds*] Milton has here cut off the last syllable of *impregnates*, and made it *impregns*, for, according to the analogy of language, it should have been *impregnates*, as it is commonly used, being derived from the barbarous Latin verb *impregno*. See Du Cange's Glossary.

LORD MONBODDO.

The word had been before used by Henry More, in his *Song of the Soul*, 1642. Part 1st. p. 15.

“ This all-spread Semele doth Bacchus bear,

“ *Impregu'd* of Jove &c.”

Ver. 506. *Imparadis'd*] This word has been quoted by Bentley from Sidney's *Arcadia*. It was common in Milton's time : Drayton, the two Fletchers, Harington, Donne, and Cleveland, also use it. The original is Dante, *Paradiso*, c. xxviii.

The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill  
 Of blifs on blifs ; while I to Hell am thrust,  
 Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,  
 Among our other torments not the least, 510  
 Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines.  
 Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd  
 From their own mouths : All is not theirs, it  
 seems ;

One fatal tree there stands, of knowledge call'd,  
 Forbidden them to taste : Knowledge forbidden ?  
 Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord 516  
 Envy them that ? Can it be sin to know ?  
 Can it be death ? And do they only stand  
 By ignorance ? Is that their happy state,  
 The proof of their obedience and their faith ? 520  
 O fair foundation laid whereon to build  
 Their ruin ! Hence I will excite their minds  
 With more desire to know, and to reject  
 Envious commands, invented with design 524

“ Poſcia che 'ncontro alla vita preſente

“ De' miſeri mortale aperſe 'l vero

“ Quella, che 'mparadiſa la mia mente.”

Ver. 509. Where *neither joy nor love*,] Dr. Bentley propoſes to read, *Where's*, contracted for *Where is* ; but Dr. Pearce obſerves, that Milton often leaves out the word *is*, as in B. viii. 621. “ and without love no happineſs.”

Ver. 515. ———— *Knowledge forbidden ?*] This is artfully perverted by Satan, as if ſome uſeful and neceſſary knowledge was forbidden : Whereas our firſt parents were created with perfect underſtanding, and the only knowledge that was forbidden, was the knowledge of evil by the commiſſion of it. NEWTON.

To keep them low, whom knowledge might exalt  
 Equal with Gods: aspiring to be such,  
 They taste and die: What likelier can ensue?  
 But first with narrow search I must walk round  
 This garden, and no corner leave unspied; 529  
 A chance but chance may lead where I may meet  
 Some wandering Spirit of Heaven by fountain  
 side,  
 Or in thick shade retir'd, from him to draw  
 What further would be learn'd. Live while ye  
 may,  
 Yet happy pair; enjoy, till I return,  
 Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed. 535  
 So saying, his proud step he scornful turn'd,  
 But with sly circumspection, and began  
 Through wood, through waste, o'er hill, o'er dale,  
 his roam.

Ver. 530. *A chance but chance may lead*] Dr. Bentley censures this jingle, and thinks it unbecoming Satan at so serious a juncture, to catch at puns; therefore proposes to read, "*some lucky chance may lead &c.*" Dr. Pearce says that without any alteration, or any pun, we may read

"*A chance (but chance) may lead &c.*"

that is, *a chance*, and it can be only *a chance, may lead &c.* But this sort of jingle is but too common with Milton. This here is not much unlike the *forte fortuna* of the Latins.

NEWTON.

Ver. 536. ——— *his proud step he scornful turn'd,*] Pope, *Odys.* xvii. 304.

"So spoke the wretch; but, shunning farther fray,

"*Turn'd his proud step, and left them on their way.*"

Mean while in utmost longitude, where Heaven  
 With earth and ocean meets, the setting sun 540  
 Slowly descended, and with right aspect  
 Against the eastern gate of Paradise  
 Levell'd his evening rays : It was a rock  
 Of alabaster, pil'd up to the clouds,  
 Conspicuous far, winding with one ascent 545  
 Accessible from earth, one entrance high ;  
 The rest was craggy cliff, that overhung  
 Still as it rose, impossible to climb.  
 Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,

Ver. 539. ————— *in utmost longitude,*] At the utmost length, at the farthest distance. *Longitude* is *length* in B. v. 754 ; and it is particularly applied to *the distance from east to west* in B. iii. 576. NEWTON.

Ver. 541. *Slowly descended,*] Dr. Bentley objects to this verse for a frivolous reason, and reads "*Had low descended,*" because the sun passes equal spaces in equal times. This is true (as Dr. Pearce replies) in philosophy, but in poetry it is usual to represent it otherwise. But I have a stronger objection to this verse, which is, that it seems to contradict what is said before, ver. 353.

" The sun—was *hasting now with prone career*

" *To the ocean isles,*"

and to reconcile them I think we must read "*Had low descended,*" or perhaps "*Lowly descended,*" or understand it as Dr. Pearce explains it, that the sun descended *slowly* at this time, because Uriel, its Angel, came on a sun-beam to Paradise, and was to return on the same beam ; which he could not well have done, if the sun had moved on with its usual rapidity of course.

NEWTON.

Ver. 549. ————— *Gabriel*] One of the Arch-Angels sent to show Daniel the vision of the four monarchies and the seventy weeks, *Dan.* vii. and ix ; and to the Virgin Mary

Chief of the angelick guards, awaiting night;  
 About him exercis'd heroick games 551  
 The unarmed youth of Heaven, but nigh at hand  
 Celestiall armoury, shields, helms, and spears,  
 Hung high, with diamond flaming, and with  
 gold.  
 Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even

to reveal the incarnation of our Saviour, *Luke i.* His name in the Hebrew signifies *the man of God*, or *the strength and power of God*; well by our author posted as chief of the angelick guards placed about Paradise. HUME.

Ver. 551. ————— *heroick games*] They were not now upon the watch, they awaited night; but their arms were ready. The Angels would not be idle, but employed themselves in these noble exercises. So the foldiers of Achilles during his quarrel with Agamemnon, and so the infernal Spirits, when their Chief was gone in search of the new creation, B. ii. 528.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 555. ————— *gliding through the even*] That is, as Dr. Pearce observes, through that part of the hemisphere, where it was then evening.

And, as Dr. Bentley had objected to evening as a place of space to glide through, Mr. Richardson remarks that Uriel arrives from the *sun's decline*, v. 792, which is no more a place than the evening, but beautifully poetical; and justified by Virgil, where a swarm of bees sail through the glowing summer, *Georg.* iv. 59.

“ Nare per æstatem liquidam suspexeris agmen.”

Ibid. ————— *gliding through the even*

*On a sun-beam,*] He also *returns* to his charge *on that bright beam*, v. 590. This thought has been suspected of imitation, as a prettiness below the genius of Milton. Dr. Newton informs us, that this might possibly be hinted by a Picture of Annibal Caracci in the king of France's cabinet: But I am apt to believe that Milton had been struck with a Portrait in Shirley,

On a sun-beam, swift as a shooting star      556  
 In autumn thwarts the night, when vapours fir'd  
 Impress the air, and shows the mariner  
 From what point of his compass to beware  
 Impetuous winds: He thus began in haste.      560

Fernando, in the comedy of the *Brothers*, 1652, describes Jacinta at vespers:

" Her eye did seem to labour with a tear,  
 " Which suddenly took birth, but, overweigh'd  
 " With its own swelling, drop'd upon her bosome;  
 " Which, by reflexion of her light, appear'd  
 " As nature meant her sorrow for an ornament;  
 " After, her looks grew chearfull, and I saw  
 " A smile shoot gracefull upward from her eyes,  
 " As if they had gain'd a victory o'er grief;  
 " And with it many beams twist'd themselves,  
 " Upon whose golden threads the Angels walk  
 " To and again from Heaven." FARMER.

The fiction of Uriel's descent and ascent by a sun-beam, is in Drayton's *Legend of Rob. D. of Normandy*, ft. 43.

" As on the sun-beams gloriously I ride,  
 " By them I mount, and down by them I slide."

Young has adapted this idea to his own peculiar cast of conception, and of composition, *N. Thought*, ix.

" Perhaps a thousand demigods descend  
 " On every beam we see, to walk with men." WARTON.

Or perhaps Milton had in mind what Sandys relates of the traditions of the Jews respecting our Saviour, in his *Travels*, ed. 1615. p. 147. " They say that he got into the Sanctum Sanctorum, and, taking from thence the powerfull names of God, did sew them in his thigh: By vertue whereof he went invisable, rid on the Sunne beames, raised the dead to life, and effected like wonders."

Ver. 556. ——— [swift as a shooting star] See note on *Genius* v. 89.



Gabriel, to thee thy course by lot hath given  
Charge and strict watch, that to this happy place  
No evil thing approach or enter in.

This day at highth of noon came to my sphere  
A Spirit, zealous, as he seem'd, to know 565  
More of the Almighty's works, and chiefly Man,  
God's latest image: I describ'd his way  
Bent all on speed, and mark'd his aery gait;  
But in the mount that lies from Eden north,  
Where he first lighted, soon discern'd his looks 570  
Alien from Heaven, with passions foul obscur'd:  
Mine eye pursued him still, but under shade  
Lost sight of him: One of the banish'd crew,  
I fear, hath ventur'd from the deep, to raise  
New troubles; him thy care must be to find. 575

To whom the winged warrior thus return'd.  
Uriel, no wonder if thy perfect sight,  
Amid the sun's bright circle where thou sitst,  
See far and wide: In at this gate none pass  
The vigilance here plac'd, but such as come 580  
Well known from Heaven; and since meridian  
hour

No creature thence: If Spirit of other sort,  
So minded, have o'er-leap'd these earthy bounds  
On purpose, hard thou know'st it to exclude

Ver. 563. *No evil thing approach or enter in.*] Not to suffer  
any evil thing to approach, or at least to enter in. PEARCE.

Ver. 567. *God's latest image:*] For the first was Christ;  
and before Man were the Angels. So, in B. iii. 151, Man is  
called God's *youngest son*. NEWTON.

Spiritual substance with corporeal bar. 585

But if within the circuit of these walks,

In whatsoever shape he lurk, of whom

Thou tell'st, by morrow dawning I shall know.

So promis'd he; and Uriel to his charge

Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now  
rais'd 590

Bore him slope downward to the sun now fall'n

Beneath the Azores; whether the prime orb,

Incredible how swift, had thither roll'd

Diurnal, or this less volúbil earth,

By shorter flight to the east, had left him there

Arraying with reflected purple and gold 596

Ver. 592. ——— *the Azores;*] Nine islands in the great Atlantick or Western ocean, commonly called the *Terceras*, from *Tercera*, the largest of them. Some confound the *Canaries* with them. HUMER.

Ibid. ——— *whether the prime orb, &c.] Whether,* not *whether* as in Milton's own editions, the sun *had roll'd thither diurnal*, that is, in a day's time, with an incredible swift motion; or *this less volúbil earth, by shorter flight to the east, had left him there* at the Azores, it being a less motion for the earth to move from west to east upon its own axis according to the system of Copernicus, than for the heavens and heavenly bodies to move from east to west according to the system of Ptolemy.

Milton, in like manner, questions whether the sun was in the center of the world or not, B. iii. 575: So scrupulous was he in declaring for any system of philosophy. NEWTON.

Ver. 594. ——— *this less volúbil earth,]* *Volúbil*, with the second syllable long, as it is in the Latin *volubilis*. He writes it *voluble*, when he makes the second syllable short, as in B. ix. 436. NEWTON.

The clouds that on his western throne attend.  
Now came still Evening on, and Twilight gray

Ver. 598. *Now came still Evening on, &c.*] This is the first evening in the poem; for, the action of the preceding books lying out of the sphere of the sun, the time could not be computed. When Satan came first to the earth, and made that famous soliloquy at the beginning of this book, the sun was *high in his meridian tower*; and this is the evening of that day; and surely there never was a finer evening; words cannot furnish out a more lovely description. The greatest poets in all ages have as it were vied one with another, in their descriptions of evening and night; but, for the variety of numbers and pleasing images, I know of nothing parallel or comparable to this to be found among all the treasures of ancient or modern Poetry. NEWTON.

Tasso says sublimely of the night,

—————“ Usci la Notte, è sotto l’ali  
“ Mendò il silenzio.”

Milton has here given a paraphrase of this passage, but very much below his original. The striking part of Tasso’s picture, is “*Night’s bringing in Silence under her wings.*” So new and singular an idea as this had detected an imitation. Milton contents himself then, with saying simply, “*Silence accompanied.*” However, to make amends, as he thought, for this defect, *Night itself*, which the Italian had merely personized, the English poet not only personizes, but employs in a very becoming office:

“ Now came still Evening on, and Twilight gray  
“ Had in her sober livery all things clad;”

Every body will observe a little blemish, in this fine couplet. He should not have used the epithet “*still*,” when he intended to add,

“ *Silence accompanied;*”

But there is a worse fault in this *imitation*. To hide it, he speaks of “*Night’s livery.*” When he had done that, to speak of her *wings* had been ungraceful. Therefore he is forced to say obscurely, as well as *simply*, “*Silence accompanied;*” And

Had in her sober livery all things clad ;  
 Silence accompanied ; for beast and bird,      600  
 They to their grassy couch, these to their nests

so loses a more noble image for a less noble one. The truth is, they would not stand together. *Livery* belongs to *human grandeur* ; *wings* to *divine* or *celestial*. So that in Milton's very attempt to surpass his original, he put it out of his power to employ the *circumstance* that most recommended it. HURD.

Ibid. — [*Twilight gray*] Milton is very singular in the frequent and particular notice which he takes of the *twilight*, whenever he has occasion to speak of the evening. I do not remember to have met with the same in any other poet ; and yet there is, to be sure, something so agreeable in that soft and gentle light, and such a peculiar fragrance attends it in the summer months, that it is a circumstance which adds great beauty to his description. I have often thought that the weakness of our poet's eyes, to which this kind of light must be vastly pleasant, might be the reason that he so often introduces the mention of it. THYER.

Pope has adopted the expression, *Odys.* iii. 422.

" And *Twilight gray* her evening shade extends."

Ver. 599. *Had in her sober livery all things clad ;*] So, in P. Fletcher's *Purp. IJl.* c. vi. st. 54.

" The world late cloth'd in *Night's* black livery."

Again, c. viii. st. 5, "*Night's* sad livery : " Where *sad* has the same meaning as *sober* ; as the word is used by Spenser and Shakspeare. "*Night's Livery*" is also a phrase in Sir R. Tempest's *Entertainment of Solitariness*, 1649, p. 15.

There are two lines in one of Shakspeare's *Sonnets*, which Mr. Malone thinks that Milton might here remember :

" Nor that full star, that ushers in the even,

" Doth half that glory to the *sober* west."

Ver. 601. ————— *these to their nests*

*Were slunk, all but the wakeful nightingale ;*]

Thus, in *England's Parnassus*, p. 340, where evening is described by Dr. Lodge :

Were slunk, all but the wakeful nightingale ;  
 She all night long her amorous descant sung ;  
 Silence was pleas'd : Now glow'd the firmament  
 With living sapphires : Hesperus, that led 605  
 The starry host, rode brightest, till the moon,  
 Rising in clouded majesty, at length  
 Apparent queen unveil'd her peerless light,

—————“ and every bird was still,  
 “ Save Philomene that did bemoan her ill.” BOWLE.

Ver. 603. ————— *her amorous descant sung ;*] This musical term is often applied to the nightingale. Mr. Bowle gives an instance from Gascoigne's *Philomene*, v. 5.

“ Late in an even I walked out alone,  
 “ To heare the *descant* of the nightingale.”

The following description of nightingales singing alternately, may be added from Sylvester's *Du Barr*. p. 105.

“ The first replies, and *descants* thereupon.”

Isaac Walton, in his *Complete Angler*, explains the propriety of this term : “ He, that at midnight should hear, as I have often done, the sweet DESCANTS, the natural rising and falling, the doubling and redoubling, of the nightingale's voice, might well be lifted above earth.” The nightingale's voice is thus termed by Euripides ΠΟΛΥΧΟΡΔΑΤΗ, *Rhesus*, v. 548.

Ver. 604. *Silence was pleas'd :*] This personification is taken, though it happens not to be observed by any of the commentators, from the *Hero and Leander* of Musæus, v. 280.

\*

DR. J. WARTON.

Ver. 605. ————— *Hesperus, that led*  
*The starry host,*] Spenser, in his *Epithalamion*,  
 thus addresses the evening-star ;

“ Faire child of beauty, glorious lampe of love,  
 “ That all the *host of heaven* in ranks dost lead, &c.”

BOWLE.

And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.

When Adam thus to Eve. Fair Confort, the  
hour

Of night, and all things now retir'd to rest, 611  
Mind us of like repose; since God hath set  
Labour and rest, as day and night, to men  
Successive; and the timely dew of sleep,  
Now falling with soft slumbrous weight, inclines  
Our eye-lids: Other creatures all day long 616  
Rove idle, unemploy'd, and less need rest;  
Man hath his daily work of body or mind  
Appointed, which declares his dignity,  
And the regard of Heaven on all his ways; 620  
While other animals unactive range,  
And of their doings God takes no account.  
To-morrow, ere fresh morning streak the east  
With first approach of light, we must be risen,  
And at our pleasant labour, to reform 625  
Yon flowery arbours, yonder alleys green,  
Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,  
That mock our scant manuring, and require  
More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth:

Ver. 614. ——— the timely dew of sleep] See Mr. Warton's note on *Il Pens.* v. 147.\*

Ver. 627. *Our walk*] In the first edition *walks*; but in the second, and all following, *walk*. NEWTON.

Ver. 628. *That mock our scant manuring,*] *Manuring* is not here to be understood in the common sense, but as working with hands; as the French *manœuvre*: It is, as immediately after, *to lop*, to rid away what is scattered. RICHARDSON.

Those blossoms also, and those dropping gums,  
That lie bestrown, unsightly and unsmooth, 631  
Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease;  
Mean while, as Nature wills, night bids us rest.

To whom thus Eve, with perfect beauty  
adorn'd.

My Author and Disposer, what thou bidst 635  
Unargued I obey: So God ordains;  
God is thy law, thou mine: To know no more  
Is woman's happiest knowledge, and her praise.  
With thee conversing I forget all time;  
All seasons, and their change, all please alike. 640  
Sweet is the breath of Morn, her rising sweet,

Ver. 640. *All seasons,*] The seasons of the day, and not of the year; for Eve, in the following charming lines, mentions *morning, evening, night*; the times of the day, and not the seasons of the year. NEWTON.

Ver. 641. *Sweet is the breath of morn,*] "The breath of 'morn'" was suggested probably by the original passage in *Solomon's Song*, ii. 17. "Till the day *breathe*;" which in our translation of the Bible is rendered, less poetically, "Till the 'day break.'"

Ibid. *Sweet is the breath of Morn, her rising sweet,*

*With charm of earliest birds;*] Milton's fancy, as usual, is here rich and exuberant; but the conduct and application of his imagery shows, that the whole passage was shadowed out of those charming but simple lines in the *Danae* of Euripides:

—— φίλον μὲν φίλος ἦλιν τόδῃ.

Καλὸν δὲ πότῃ χεῖρ' ἰδὲν ἐνύμειον,

Γῆ τ' ἔριον θάλλῃσιν, πλάσσει δ' ἔδυρ,

Πολλῶν τ' ὀππότες ἐγὼ μοι λῆξαι καλῶν.

Ἀλλ' ἔδιν ἔγω λαμπρὸν, ἔδ' ἰδὲν, καλόν,

Ὡς, τοῖς ἄφαισι, καὶ πόθῃ διδουγμίσι,

Παῖδιν νεγνῶν ἢ δόμοις ἰδὲν φάος. EURYD.

With charm of earliest birds ; pleasant the fun,  
 When first on this delightful land he spreads  
 His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,  
 Glist'ring with dew ; fragrant the fertile earth 645  
 After soft showers ; and sweet the coming on  
 Of grateful Evening mild ; then silent Night,  
 With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,  
 And these the gems of Heaven, her starry train :  
 But neither breath of Morn, when she ascends 650  
 With charm of earliest birds ; nor rising sun  
 On this delightful land ; nor herb, fruit, flower,

Mr. Warton thinks that Milton had, here, the eighth *Idyllium* of Theocritus in view :

‘Αδὲς ἂ φανὲ τῷς πόρτιος, ἀδὲ τὸ πνεῦμα\*  
 ‘Αδὲ δὲ χά μύσχος γαρύται, ἀδὲ δὲ χά βῶς,  
 ‘Αδὲ δὲ τῷ δέμῳ παρ’ ὕδαρ ἴσον αἰθρικευτῖν.

Ver. 645. ————— *fragrant the fertile earth*

*After short showers ;*] Thus, in Sir P. Sidney's

“ Remedic for Love,” *Arcad.* 13th edit. at the end ;

“ And sweet, as after gentle showers

“ The breath is of some thousand flowers.”

Ver. 648. *With this her solemn bird,*] The nightingale,  
 “ most musical, most melancholy.” She is called “ the solemn  
 “ nightingale,” B. vii. 435. NEWTON.

Ver. 649. *And these the gems of Heaven,*] In Spenser's  
*Hymn to heavenly Love*, the Heaven is “ adorned with ten  
 thousand gems of shining gold.” And the sun is styled, in  
 Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, p. 84, “ Heaven's richest gemm.” See  
 also Pope's *Odyssey*, xv. 123.

“ Like radiant Hesper o'er the gems of night.”

Which resembles Ben Jonson's phrase, *Underwoods*, 1640. p. 251.

“ The stars that are the jewels of the night.”

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X





Glistering with dew ; nor fragrance after showers ;  
 Nor grateful Evening mild ; nor silent Night,  
 With this her solemn bird, nor walk by moon, 655  
 Or glittering star-light, without thee is sweet.  
 But wherefore all night long shine these ? for  
 whom

This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes ?

To whom our general ancestor replied.

Daughter of God and Man, accomplish'd Eve, 660  
 These have their course to finish round the earth,  
 By morrow evening, and from land to land  
 In order, though to nations yet unborn,

Ver. 660. *Daughter of God and Man, accomplish'd Eve,*] Pope, in his excellent notes upon Homer, B. i. ver. 97 observes, that those appellations of praise and honour, with which the heroes in Homer so frequently salute each other, were agreeable to the style of the ancient times, as appears from several of the like nature in Scripture. Milton has not been wanting to give his poem this cast of antiquity, throughout which our first parents almost always accost each other with some title, that expresses a respect to the dignity of human nature. NEWTON.

Ver. 661. *These have their course*] I have presumed to make a small alteration here in the text, and read *These*, though in most other editions, and even in Milton's own, I find *Thy* : Because it is said before, ver. 657.

“ But wherefore all night long shine *these* ? ”

and afterwards, ver. 674.

“ *These* then, though unbeheld in deep of night,

“ Shine not in vain ; ”

both which passages evince that *Thy* here is an error of the press. NEWTON.

I find this judicious alteration of the text, first, in Tonson's duodecimo edition of 1746.

Ministring light prepar'd, they set and rise;  
 Left total Darkneſs ſhould by night regain 66;  
 Her old poſſeſſion, and extinguiſh life  
 In Nature and all things; which theſe ſoft fires  
 Not only enlighten, but with kindly heat  
 Of various influence foment and warm,  
 Temper or nourish, or in part ſhed down 67;  
 Their ſtellar virtue on all kinds that grow

Ver. 671. *Their ſtellar virtue*] As Milton was an univerſal ſcholar, ſo he had not a little affectation of ſhowing his learning of all kinds, and makes Adam diſcourſe here ſomewhat like an adept in aſtrology, which was too much the philoſophy of his own times. What he ſays afterwards of numberleſs ſpiritual creatures walking the earth unſeen, and joining in praiſes to their great Creator, is of a nobler ſtrain; more agreeable to reaſon and revelation, as well as more pleaſing to the imagination; and ſeems to be an imitation and improvement of Heſiod's notion of good genii, the guardians of mortal men, clothed with air, wandering every where through the earth. See *Heſiod*, l. 120—125. NEWTON.

Perhaps Milton adverted to Craſhaw, rather than to Heſiod: See his *Sacred Poems*, p. 52. 1652.

- “ Alas, ſweet Lord, what wer't to thee,  
 “ If there were no ſuch wormes as we?  
 “ Heaven ne'er the leſſe ſtill heaven would be——  
 “ Still would the youthfull Spirits ſing;  
 “ And ſtill thy ſpacious Palace ring.  
 “ Still would thoſe beauteous miniſters of light  
 “ Burn all as bright,  
 “ And bow their flaming heads before thee;  
 “ Still Thrones and Dominations would adore thee.  
 “ Still would thoſe euer-wakefull Sons of fire  
 “ Keep warm thy prayſe  
 “ Both nights and dayes,  
 “ And teach thy lou'd name to their noble lyre.”

On earth, made hereby apter to receive  
 Perfection from the sun's more potent ray;  
 These then, though unbeheld in deep of night, 674  
 Shine not in vain; nor think, though men were  
     none,  
 That Heaven would want spectators, God want  
     praise:  
 Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth  
 Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:  
 All these with ceaseless praise his works behold  
 Both day and night: How often from the steep  
 Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard 681  
 Celestial voices to the midnight air,  
 Sole, or responsive each to others note,  
 Singing their great Creator? oft in bands 684  
 While they keep watch, or nightly rounding  
     walk,  
 With heavenly touch of instrumentall sounds  
 In full harmonick number join'd, their songs

Ver. 682. *Celestial voices to the midnight air,*] Singing to the midnight air. So, in Virg. *Ecl.* i. 57.

———“*cant: frondator ad auris.*”

For, as Dr. Pearce observes, there should be a comma after *note*, that the construction may be *Singing their great Creator to the midnight air*. And this notion of their singing thus by night, is agreeable to the account given by Lucretius, iv. 586.

“*Quorum noctivago strepitu, ludoque jocanti,*

“*Adfirmant volgò taciturna silentia rumpi,*

“*Chordatumque sonos fieri, dulcèsq; querelas,*

“*Tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum.*”

NEWTON.

Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven.

Thus talking hand in hand alone they pass'd  
On to their blissful bower : it was a place 690  
Chos'n by the sovran Planter, when he fram'd  
All things to Man's delightful use ; the roof  
Of thickest covert was inwoven shade  
Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew  
Of firm and fragrant leaf ; on either side 695  
Acanthus, and each odorous bushy shrub,  
Enc'd up the verdant wall ; each beauteous  
flower,

Iris all hues, roses, and jessamin,  
Rear'd high their flourish'd heads between, and  
wrought  
Mosaick ; underfoot the violet, 700

Ver. 688. *Divide the night,*] Into watches ; as the trumpet  
did among the ancients, sounding as the watch was relieved ;  
which was called, *dividing the night*. Sil. Italic. *Pun.* vii. 154.

—————“ *cùm buccina noctem*

“ *Divideret.*” RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ——— *and lift our thoughts to Heaven.*] Drummond,  
in his *Flowers of Stan*, has a similar phrase, addressing the  
nightingale :

“ What soul can be so sick, which by thy songs  
“ (Attir'd in sweetness) sweetly is not driven  
“ Quite to forget earth's turmoiles, spites, and wrongs,  
“ And lift a reverent eye and thought to heaven ?”

See also Shakspeare, *Henry VIII.* A. ii. S. ii.

“ Make of your prayers one sweet sacrifice,  
“ And lift my soul to heaven.”

Ver. 700. ——— *underfoot the violet,*  
*Crocus, and hyacinth,*] Milton has taken this

Crocus, and hyacinth, with rich inlay  
 Broider'd the ground, more colour'd than with  
 stone  
 Of costliest emblem : Other creature here,  
 Bird, beast, insect, or worm, durst enter none,  
 Such was their awe of Man. In shadier bower 705

from Homer, who makes the same sort of flowers to spring up under Jupiter and Juno, on Mount Ida, *Il.* xiv. 347. Where Pope remarks, that, in Milton, the very turn of Homer's verses is observed, and the cadence, and almost the words, finely translated :

Τοῖσι δ' ὑπὸ Χθονὶ δ' αὖ φύει ποδηλία παῖνι,  
 Λωτὸν δ' ἱερήνιτα, ἰδὲ κρόκον, ἧδ' ἰάκινθον  
 Πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακόν· ὅς ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψός' ἔϊργε. NEWTON.

Ver. 702. Broider'd the ground,] See note on *Comus*, v. 233.

Tonson's edition of 1711 reads, " Border'd the ground ;" an alteration suggested perhaps by B. ix. 438, " flowers imborder'd " on each bank." But *broider'd* is, here, the reading of Milton's own editions.

Ver. 703. Of costliest emblem:] *Emblem* is here in the Greek and Latin sense for inlaid floors of stone or wood, to make figures mathematical or pictural :

" Arte pavimenti atque emblemate verniculato." BENTLEY.

The word *emblems* is expressly used for *inlays*, in Bolton's *Elements of Armories*, 1610, p. 49.

Ibid. ——— Other creature here,

Bird, beast, insect, or worm, durst enter none,] This seems to be an imitation of Callimachus, *Hymn. in Jov.* v. 10.

ἴδμεν δὲ χάρος  
 ἱερόν· ὥδ' τί μιν αἰχμημάτων εἰσαδύναε  
 ἔργον—

Ver. 705. ——— In shadier bower] So it is in the first edition: In the second we read " In shadie bower," but with such a space as is not usual between two words, as if

More sacred and sequester'd, though but feign'd,  
 Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor Nymph  
 Nor Faunus haunted. Here, in close recess,  
 With flowers, garlands, and sweet-smelling herbs,  
 Espoused Eve deck'd first her nuptial bed; 710  
 And heavenly quires the hymenæan sung,  
 What day the genial Angel to our fire  
 Brought her, in naked beauty more adorn'd,  
 More lovely, than Pandora, whom the Gods  
 Endow'd with all their gifts, and O too like 715  
 In sad event, when to the unwifer son

the letter *r* had occupied the room, and by some accident had made no impression. “In *shades* bower” marks more strongly the shadiness as well as the retiredness of the place; and the shadiness is a principal circumstance of the description. The *bower* is seldom mentioned but it is called *shady*. See B. iii. 734, iv. 137, v. 367. NEWTON.

Ver. 714. *More lovely, than Pandora, &c.*] The story is this. Prometheus, the son of *Japhet*, had stolen fire from Heaven, Jove's *authentick fire*, the original and prototype of all earthly fire, which Jupiter being angry at, to be revenged sent him *Pandora*, so called because all the Gods had contributed their gifts to make her more charming (for so the word signifies). She was brought by *Hermes*, but was not received by Prometheus the wifer son of *Japhet* (as the name implies), but by his brother Epimetheus, *the unwifer son*. She enticed his foolish curiosity to open a box which she brought, wherein were contained all manner of evils. RICHARDSON.

The epithet *unwifer* does not imply that his brother Prometheus was unwise. Milton uses *unwifer*, as any Latin writer would *imprudens*, for not so wise as he should have been. So *audacior*, *timidior*, *vehementior*, *iracundior*, &c. mean *bolder*, &c. *quam par est*, than is right and fit, and imply less than *audax*, *timidus*, &c. in the positive degree. JORTIN.

Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she ensnar'd  
Mankind with her fair looks, to be aveng'd  
On him who had stole Jove's authentick fire.

Thus, at their shady lodge arriv'd, both stood,  
Both turn'd, and under open sky ador'd 721  
The God that made both sky, air, earth, and  
heaven,

Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,  
And starry pole : Thou also mad'st the night,  
Maker Omnipotent, and thou the day, 725  
Which we, in our appointed work employ'd,  
Have finish'd, happy in our mutual help  
And mutual love, the crown of all our blifs

Ver. 723. ——— *the moon's resplendent globe,*] Virgil,  
*Æn.* vi. "Lucentemque globum lunæ." HUMPH.

Ver. 724. ——— *Thou also mad'st the night,*] Addison  
mentions the instance, in Homer, of Hector being first named,  
and then of a sudden introduced as speaking, without any notice  
given that he does so. But the transition here in Milton is of  
another sort : It is first speaking *of* a person, and then suddenly  
turning the discourse, and speaking *to* him. So, in the hymn to  
Hercules, Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 291.

———— "ut duros mille labores

"Pertulerit. *Tu* nubigenas, invicte, &c." NEWTON,

I am inclined to think that Milton here had in view the  
seventy-fourth *Psal.* For the hymn of our first parents com-  
mences with the acknowledgement of God's power, made by  
David in the 16th verse, "The day is thine, the night also is  
thine : " And, in the 14th verse, God is thus address'd, "For  
God is my king of old ; the help that is done upon earth, *he*  
doeth it *himself*." Then follows immediately a transition from  
the *third person* to the *second*, in the five succeeding verses :  
"*Thou* didst divide the sea, &c."

Ordain'd by thee ; and this delicious place  
 For us too large, where thy abundance wants 730  
 Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground.  
 But thou hast promis'd from us two a race  
 To fill the earth, who shall with us extol  
 Thy goodness infinite, both when we wake,  
 And when we seek, as now, thy gift of sleep. 735

This said unanimous, and other rites  
 Observing none, but adoration pure  
 Which God likes best, into their inmost bower  
 Handed they went ; and, eas'd the putting off  
 These troublesome disguises which we wear, 740  
 Straight side by side were laid ; nor turn'd, I ween,

Ver. 729. ———— *and this delicious place*] We may understand the passage with Dr. Pearce thus ; “ And *thou mad'st* this delicious place :” Or, with Mr. Richardson, thus ; “ Happy in our mutual help, and mutual love, the chief of all our blifs, thy gift ; and *happy in* this delicious Paradise :” Or thus ; “ Happy in our mutual help and mutual love, the crown of all our blifs, and *of* this delicious place.” NEWTON.

I conceive Mr. Richardson's explanation to be the poet's meaning.

Ver. 735. ———— *thy gift of sleep.*] Dr. Bentley reads “ *the* gift,” and observes that it is word for word from Homer, who has frequently *τὸν δῶρον*. But “ *thy* gift,” is right ; for, in v. 612, Milton says, that “ God hath set labour and rest to men successive :” therefore *sleep* is *God's* gift. And Virgil, whom Milton oftener imitates than Homer, says of sleep, *Æn.* ii. 269.

——— “ *dono divum gratissima ferpit.*” PEARCE.

The authenticity of Milton's reading requires not the support of heathen illustration, when it is expressly said in the 127th *Psal.*, “ He *giveth* his beloved *sleep.*”



Adam from his fair spouse, nor Eve the rites  
 Mysterious of connubial love refus'd :  
 Whatever hypocrites austere talk  
 Of purity, and place, and innocence, 745  
 Defaming as impure what God declares  
 Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.  
 Our Maker bids encrease ; who bids abstain  
 But our Destroyer, foe to God and Man ?  
 Hail, wedded Love, mysterious law, true source  
 Of human offspring, sole propriety 751  
 In Paradise of all things common else.  
 By thee adulterous Lust was driven from men

Ver. 744. *Whatever hypocrites &c.*] Milton calls those, who, under a notion of greater purity and perfection, decried and forbid marriage, as they do in the Church of Rome, *hypocrites*; and says afterwards, that is the *distracting of our Destroyer*, in allusion to I. Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3. NEWTON.

Ver. 750. *Hail, wedded Love, &c.*] An ingenious friend has informed me, that this address to wedded Love is borrowed from one of Tasso's letters; "*O dolce congiunzione de' cuori, o sacre unione de gli animi nostri, o legitimo nodo, &c.*" The quotation would swell this note to too great a length; but the reader, who understands Italian, may, if he please, compare the original with our author, and he will easily perceive what an excellent copier Milton was, as judicious in omitting some circumstances, as in imitating others. It is in one of Tasso's letters to his relation Signor Hercole Tasso, Lib. 2. p. 150. Edit. In Venetia. 1592. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— mysterious law,] That is, including a *mystery* in it; in the same sense as "*mysterious rites*" are spoken of before. He plainly alludes to St. Paul calling matrimony a *mystery*, Ephes. v. 32. PEARCE.

Ver. 753. *By thee adulterous Lust was driven &c.*] The turn of the words in this beautiful address to wedded Love, renders it

Among the bestial herds to range ; by thee  
 Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure, 755  
 Relations dear, and all the charities  
 Of father, son, and brother, first were known.  
 Far be it, that I should write thee sin or blame,  
 Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,  
 Perpetual fountain of domestick sweets, 760  
 Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounce'd,

probable that Milton might have perused another Italian eulogy on the subject, which Mr. Walker, in his *Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, has noted, p. 91. "O matrimonio felice e santo s'io haveſſe parole uguali à le tue lode mi di commendarti non ſe ne vedrebbe ſtanca la voce mia. *Per te* è per mai ſempre la vita glorioſa e lieta : *per te* gli' huomini ſi fanno ſempiterni e glorioſi. Viva dunque, viva il matrimonio : e chi diſidera di vivere e morire contento e beato elegga per il vero e unico mezzo il matrimonio."

I beg leave to add, that there is an eulogy on matrimony in the fifteenth Canto of Murtola's "*Creatione del Mondo*, 1608 ;" of which poem ſee an account in my note, B. v. 689.

Ver. 756. ——— and all the charities] *Charities* is uſed in the Latin ſignification, and, like *cavitates*, comprehends all the relations, all the endearments of conſanguinity and affinity, as in *Cicero de Officiis*, i. 17. "Cari ſunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares ; ſed omnes omnium *cavitates* patria una complexa eſt." It is uſed likewiſe in this manner in the Italian, and by Taſſo in the place which our author is here imitating : "*Ma la charita del figliuolo, e del padre.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 761. *Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounce'd,*] In alluſion to *Heb. xiii. 4.* "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled." And Milton muſt have had a good opinion of marriage, or he would never have had three wives. And though this panegyrick upon wedded Love may be condemned as a digreſſion, yet it can hardly be called a digreſſion, when it grows ſo naturally out of the ſubject, and is introduced ſo pro-

Present, or past, as faints and patriarchs us'd.  
 Here Love his golden shafts employs, here lights  
 His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,  
 Reigns here and revels; not in the bought smile  
 Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unendear'd, 766  
 Casual fruition; nor in court-amours,  
 Mix'd dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,  
 Or serenate, which the starv'd lover sings  
 To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain. 770  
 These, lull'd by nightingales, embracing slept,  
 And on their naked limbs the flowery roof

perly; while the action of the poem is in a manner suspended, and while Adam and Eve are lying down to sleep: And if morality be one great end of poetry, that end cannot be better promoted than by such digressions as this, and that upon hypocrisy at the latter part of the third book. NEWTON.

Ver. 763. *Here Love his golden shafts employs, &c.*] See Mr. Warton's note, *Eleg.* vii. 47.

Ver. 765. *Reigns here and revels;*] What our author here says of marriage, Marino applies in the same terms to Venus in his description of her, *Adon.* cant. ii. st. 114. and it is probable, that Milton alluded to this and other such extravagances of the poets, and meant to say, that what they had extravagantly and falsely applied to loose wanton love, was really true of that passion in its state of innocence.

“ Quiui Amor si trastulla, e quindi impera.” THYER.

Ver. 769. *Or serenate, which the starv'd lover sings*] We commonly say *serenade*, with the French; but Milton keeps, as usual, the Italian word, *serenate*; which the *starv'd* lover sings, *starv'd*, as this compliment was commonly paid *in sereno*, in clear cold nights. Horace mentions this circumstance, *Od.* III. x. 1.

NEWTON.

Shower'd roses, which the morn repair'd. Sleep on,  
 Blest pair; and O yet happier, if ye seek  
 No happier state, and know to know no more. 775

Now had night measur'd with her shadowy  
 cone

Half way up hill this vast sublunar vault,  
 And from their ivory port the Cherubim,

Ver. 773. *Shower'd roses,*] So, in Harington's *Orl. Fur.*  
 B. 44. ft. 29.

“ And damsels from the windowes high and towres,  
 “ To gratulate their prosperous deeds and haps,  
 “ Cast *showres of roses* from their tender laps.”

Ver. 776. *Now had night measur'd with her shadowy cone*] A cone is a figure round at bottom, and, lessening all the way, ends in a point. This is the form of the shadow of the earth; the base of the cone standing upon that side of the globe where the sun is not, and consequently when it is night there. This cone, to those who are on the darkened side of the earth, could it be seen, would mount as the sun fell lower, and be at its utmost highth in the vault of their heaven when it was midnight. The shadowy cone had now arisen half way, consequently supposing it to be about the time when the days and nights were of equal length (as it was B. x. 329,) it must be now about nine o'clock, the usual time of the Angels setting their sentries, as it immediately follows. This is marking the time very poetically.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 777. *Half way up hill*] The expression is something dark, but it is right. *Half way up hill*, half way towards midnight, the third hour of the night; *the accusom'd hour* for the first military watch to take their rounds. Spenser, *Faery Queen*, i. ii. 1.

“ Phœbus was climbing up the eastern hill.” BENTLEY.

Ver. 778. *And from their ivory port &c.*] We cannot conceive that here is any allusion to the ivory gate of sleep, men-

Forth issuing at the accustom'd hour, stood arm'd  
To their night watches in warlike parade ; 780  
When Gabriel to his next in power thus spake.

Uzziel, half these draw off, and coast the south  
With strictest watch ; these other wheel the north ;  
Our circuit meets full west. As flame they part,  
Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear. 785

tioned by Homer and Virgil, from whence false dreams proceeded ; for the poet could never intend to insinuate that, what he was saying about the angelick guards, was all a fiction. As the rock was of alabaster, ver. 543, so he makes the gate of ivory, which was very proper for an eastern gate, as the finest ivory comes from the east ; "*India mittit ebur,*" Virg. *Georg.* i. 57 : And houses and palaces of ivory are mentioned as instances of magnificence in Scripture, as are likewise doors of ivory in Ovid, *Met.* iv. 185.

"Lemnius extemplo *valvas* patefecit *eburnas*."

NEWTON.

Ver. 782. *Uzziel,*] The next commanding Angel to Gabriel ; his name in Hebrew is *the strength of God*, as all God's mighty Angels are. HUMF.

Ver. 784. ————— *As flame they part,*] This break in the verse is excellently adapted to the subject. They part, as the flame divides into separate wreaths. A short simile, but expressive of their quickness and rapidity, and of their brightness and the splendour of their armour at the same time. Homer, in the second book of the *Iliad*, compares the march of the Trojans to the flame ; but this simile is better suited to those beings, of whom the Scripture says, "*He maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 785. *Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear.*] "*Declinare ad hastam vel ad scutum.*" Livy. To wheel to the right or left. HUME.

As all the Angels stood in the eastern gate, their right hand was to the north, *to the spear* ; their left hand to the south, *to*

From these, two strong and subtle Spirits he call'd  
That near him stood, and gave them thus in  
charge.

Ithuriel and Zephon, with wing'd speed  
Search through this garden, leave unsearch'd no  
nook ;

But chiefly where those two fair creatures lodge,  
Now laid perhaps asleep, secure of harm. 791  
This evening from the sun's decline arriv'd,  
Who tells of some infernal Spirit seen  
Hitherward bent (who could have thought ?)  
escap'd

The bars of Hell, on errand bad no doubt : 795  
Such, where ye find, seize fast, and hither bring.

So saying, on he led his radiant files,  
Dazzling the moon ; these to the bower direct  
In search of whom they fought : Him there they  
found

Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve, 800

*the shield.* From these that wheeled to the spear Gabriel calls out  
two : He himself then was in that company. *Shield and spear*  
for left hand and right, while the men are supposed in arms, give  
a dignity of expression, more than the common words have.

BENTLEY.

So Trissino, in his *Italia Liberata*, lib. vi. v. 55.

“ Tal, che si voltan tutti quanti *al scudo*,

“ E tutti *all' asta* ——”

Ver. 788. *Ithuriel and Zephon*,] Two Angels having their  
names as indication of their offices. *Ithuriel* in Hebrew *the dis-*  
*covery of God.* *Zephon* in Hebrew *a secret or searcher of secrets.*

HUME.

Affaying by his devilish art to reach  
 The organs of her fancy, and with them forge  
 Illusions, as he list, phantasms and dreams ;  
 Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint  
 The animal spirits, that from pure blood arise 805  
 Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raise  
 At least distemper'd, discontented thoughts,  
 Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,  
 Blown up with high conceits ingendering pride.  
 Him thus intent Ithuriel with his spear 810  
 Touch'd lightly ; for no fallhood can endure  
 Touch of celestial temper, but returns  
 Of force to its own likeness : Up he starts  
 Discover'd and surpris'd. As when a spark

Ver. 802. *The organs of her fancy,*] He might remember the pretended fairy's commission in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, A. v. S. v.

“ Raise up the *organs of her fantasy*,  
 “ Sleep she as sound as careless infancy.”

Ver. 804. *Or if, inspiring venom, &c.*] So Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 351, where the serpent, that the fury Alecto had flung upon Amata, creeps softly over her,

“ Vipeream inspirans animam —  
 “ Pertentat sensus.” RICHARDSON.

In like manner the fury Erinnyes applies, to the heart of Herod, in a dream, a serpent ; which, shedding its poison there, inspires him with cruelty and rage, Marino, *Strage de gli Innocenti*, lib. i. But this power of evil spirits over the fancy and animal spirits, is minutely discussed in *Wiers De Lamus*, lib. iii. cap. viii. ed. 1582, “ De Phantasia &c.”

Ver. 814. ————— *As when a spark*  
*Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, &c.*] Ariosto

Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid 815  
 Fit for the tun some magazine to store  
 Against a rumour'd war, the smutty grain,  
 With sudden blaze diffus'd, inflames the air :  
 So started up in his own shape the Fiend.  
 Back stept those two fair Angels, half amaz'd 820  
 So fudden to behold the grisly king ;  
 Yet thus, unmov'd with fear, accost him soon.

Which of those rebel Spirits adjudg'd to Hell  
 Com'st thou, escap'd thy prison? and, transform'd,  
 Why sat'st thou like an enemy in wait, 825  
 Here watching at the head of these that sleep?

Know ye not then, said Satan, fill'd with scorn,  
 Know ye not me? ~~Ye~~ ye knew me once no mate  
 For you, there sitting where ye durst not soar :  
 Not to know me argues yourselves unknown, 830  
 The lowest of your throng ; or, if ye know,  
 Why ask ye, and superfluous begin  
 Your message, like to end as much in vain?

uses the same simile to describe a sudden start of passion, *Orl.*  
*Fam.* c. x. st. 40.

“ Non così fin salnitro, e zolfo puro

“ Tocco dal foco, subito s' avvampa.” *THYER.*

Ver. 829. ——— *there sitting where ye durst not soar :*] As *sitting* is frequently used in the Scriptures, and in other ancient writers, for a posture that implies a high rank of dignity and power ; Satan by this expression intimates his great superiority over them, that he had the privilege to *sit*, as an Angel of figure and authority, in an eminent part of Heaven, where they *durst not soar*, where they did not presume even to come.

*GREENWOOD.*



To whom thus Zephon, answering scorn with scorn.

Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same, 835  
 Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,  
 As when thou stood'st in Heaven upright and pure;  
 That glory then, when thou no more wast good,  
 Departed from thee; and thou resemblest now  
 Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul. 840  
 But come, for thou, be sure, shalt give account

Ver. 834. *To whom thus Zephon,*] Zephon is very properly made to answer him, and not Ithuriel, that each of them may appear as actors upon this occasion. Ithuriel with his spear restored the Fiend to his own shape, and Zephon rebukes him. It would not have been so well, if the same person had done both.

NEWTON.

Ver. 835. *Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,  
 Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,*] Dr.

Bentley judges rightly enough that the present reading is faulty; for if the words *by shape the same*, are in the ablative case put absolutely, it is necessary that *undiminish'd* should follow *brightness*: and accordingly the Doctor reads "*Or brightness undiminish'd*:" which order of the words we must follow, unless it may be thought as small an alteration to read thus,

"Think not, revolted Spirit, *by* shape the same

"Or undiminish'd brightness to be known:"

Just as in B. i. 732. we have

————— "his hand was *known*

"In Heaven *by* many a towred structure high."

PEARCE.

But without any alteration may we not understand *shape* and *brightness* as in the accusative case after the verb *think*? Think not thy shape the same, or undiminish'd brightness to be known now, as it was formerly in Heaven. NEWTON.

To him who sent us, whose charge is to keep  
This place inviolable, and these from harm.

So spake the Cherub; and his grave rebuke,  
Severe in youthful beauty, added grace 845  
Invincible: Abash'd the Devil stood,  
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw  
Virtue in her shape how lovely; saw, and pin'd  
His loss; but chiefly to find here observ'd  
His lustre visibly impair'd; yet seem'd 850  
Undaunted. If I must contend, said he,

Ver. 845. *Severe in youthful beauty, added grace*] Virg.  
*Æn.* v. 344.

“Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 848. *Virtue in her shape how lovely*;] What is said here of seeing “Virtue in her shape how lovely,” is manifestly borrowed from Plato and Cicero: “*Formam quidem ipsam et quasi faciem honesti vides, quæ si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores, ut ait Plato, excitaret sapientiæ.*” Cic. de Off. i. 5.

NEWTON.

Compare Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 302. “If ever *Virtue took a body to shew his (self unconceivable) beauty*, it was in Pamela.” But let Milton illustrate himself: “And certainly Discipline is not only the removal of Disorder; but, if any visible shape can be given to divine things, *the very visible shape and image of Virtue*; whereby she is not only *seen* in the regular gestures and motions of her heavenly paces as she walks, but also makes the harmony of her voice audible to mortal ears.” *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 202. ed. 1698. Again, p. 205. “*The lovely shapes of Virtues and Graces.*” Again, p. 227. “*The very shape and visage of Truth.*”

Ibid. ——— saw, and pin'd

*His loss*;] Persius, Sat. iii. 38.

“*Virtutem videant, intabescantque relicta.*” HUMR.

Best with the best, the sencer, not the sent,  
 Or all at once ; more glory will be won,  
 Or less be lost. Thy fear, said Zephon bold,  
 Will save us trial what the least can do 855  
 Single against thee wicked, and thence weak.

The Fiend replied not, overcome with rage ;  
 But, like a proud steed rein'd, went haughty on,  
 Champing his iron curb : To strive or fly  
 He held it vain ; awe from above had quell'd 860  
 His heart, not else dismay'd. Now drew they nigh  
 The western point, where those half-rounding  
 guards

Just met, and closing stood in Squadron join'd,  
 Awaiting next command. To whom their Chief,  
 Gabriël, from the front thus call'd aloud. 865

O friends ! I hear the tread of nimble feet  
 Hastening this way, and now by glimpse discern

Ver. 859. *But, like a proud steed rein'd, went haughty on,  
 Champing his iron curb :*] This is literally from  
 what Mercury says to Prometheus, Æschylus, *Prom. Vincit.* 1008.

——— δακὼν δὲ γόμοισι ὡς νοστρογῆς

Πῶλος, βιάζει καὶ πρὸς ἡνίας μάχη. THYER.

Ver. 866. *O friends ! I hear &c.*] Milton, in this whole  
 episode, keeps close to his master Homer, who sends out Ulysses  
 and Diomedes into the Trojan camp as spies, *Iliad* x. 533, &c.

Ἵπριον ———

Ἵππων μ' ἀκουπόμενος ἀμφὶ πτόπος οὐατα βάλλει.

"O friends ! I hear the tread of nimble feet."

Οὐκ ἔτι πᾶν εἴρετο ἵππος, ὅτ' ὄρε' ἤλυθεν αὐτοί.

"He scarce had ended, when these two approach'd."

UPTON.

Itthuriel and Zephon through the shade ;  
 And with them comes a third of regal port,  
 But faded splendour wan ; who by his gait 870  
 And fierce demeanour seems the Prince of Hell,  
 Not likely to part hence without contest ;  
 Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.

He scarce had ended, when those two ap-  
 preach'd,  
 And brief related whom they brought, where  
 found, 875  
 How busied, in what form and posture couch'd.

To whom with stern regard thus Gabriel spake.  
 Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescrib'd  
 To thy transgressions, and disturb'd the charge  
 Of others, who approve not to transgress 880  
 By thy example, but have power and right  
 To question thy bold entrance on this place ;

Ver. 873. ——— *for in his look defiance lours.*] So, in  
*Samson*, v. 1073. of Harapha ;

“ His habit carries peace, *his brow defiance.*”

Pope copies the *Par. Lost*, in his *Temple of Fame*, v. 343.

“ And proud defiance in their looks they bore.”

Ver. 877. ——— *with stern regard*] Answering to the  
 Homerick *δυσὸν δεικνύμενος*, *Iliad* iii. and *ἐπὶ δὲ ἰδὼν*, *Il.* iv.

HUME.

Ver. 878. *Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescrib'd  
 To thy transgressions,*] Milton means, as I sup-  
 pose, that the bounds of Hell were by God prescribed to Satan's  
 transgressions, so as that it was intended he should transgress no  
 where else, but *within* those bounds ; whereas he was now at-  
 tempting to transgress *without* them. NEWTON.

Employ'd, it seems, to violate sleep, and those  
Whose dwelling God hath planted here in bliss?

To whom thus Satan with contemptuous  
brow. 885

Gabriel! thou hadst in Heaven the esteem of wife,  
And such I held thee; but this question ask'd  
Puts me in doubt. Lives there who loves his  
pain?

Who would not, finding way, break loose from  
Hell,

Though thither doom'd? Thou wouldst thyself,  
no doubt, 890

And boldly venture to whatever place  
Farthest from pain, where thou mightst hope to  
change

Torment with ease, and soonest recompense

Ver. 883. ———— *to violate sleep,*] Shakspeare, in *Macbeth*, has a stronger expression, “to murder sleep;” both equally proper in the places where they are employed. NEWTON.

Ver. 887. ———— *but this question ask'd*  
*Puts me in doubt.*] Homer: *Thou seem'dst a wife*  
*man formerly*, Νῦν δ' ἄφρονι φρενὶ ἰοίκατο, BENTLEY.

Ver. 892. ———— *where thou mightst hope to change*  
*Torment with ease,*] Dr. Bentley would read  
“for ease:” But, “to change torment *with ease*,” is according  
to the Latins, whom Milton often follows: “*glandem mutavit*  
*aristâ*,” Virgil, *Georg.* i. 8. NEWTON.

To *change with* is also the language of Shakspeare, in *Cymbeline*, A. i. S. vi.

————— “to shift his being,  
“Is to *exchange* one misery *with* another.”

STEEVENS,

Dole with delight, which in this place I fought ;  
 To thee no reason, who know'st only good, 895  
 But evil hast not tried : and wilt object  
 His will who bounds us ? Let him surer bar  
 His iron gates, if he intends our stay  
 In that dark durance : Thus much what was ask'd.  
 The rest is true, they found me where they say ;  
 But that implies not violence or harm. 901

Thus he in scorn. The warlike Angel mov'd,  
 Disdainfully half smiling, thus replied.  
 O loss of one in Heaven to judge of wise  
 Since Satan fell, whom folly overthrew, 905  
 And now returns him from his prison 'scap'd,  
 Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wise

Ver. 894. *Dole with delight,*] Shakspeare uses the same antithesis, *Hamlet*, A. i. S. ii.

——— “ weighing *delight* and *dole*.”

Compare also *The Rare Triumphes of Loue and Fortune*, 1589.

“ *Dole* and dispaire hencefoorth be thy *delight*.”

Ver. 896. ——— and wilt object

*His will who bounds us ?*] The pronoun *thou* is understood. It is a concise way of speaking, something like “ and know'st for whom,” B. ii. 730. NEWTON.

Ver. 903. *Disdainfully half smiling,*] Concisely expressed. Tasso uses two lines to give us the same idea, *Gier. Lib. c. v. st. 42*.

“ *Sorrise all' hor Rinaldo ; e con volto,*

“ *In cui tra 'l riso lampeggio lo sdegno.*”

Again, c. xix. st. 4.

“ *Sorrise il buon Tancredi un cotal riso*

“ *Di sdegno.*” BOWLE.

Or not, who ask what boldness brought him hither  
 Unlicens'd from his bounds in Hell prescrib'd ;  
 So wise he judges it to fly from pain 910

However, and to 'scape his punishment !

So judge thou still, presumptuous ! till the wrath,  
 Which thou incurr'st by flying, meet thy flight  
 Sevenfold, and scourge that wisdom back to Hell,  
 Which taught thee yet no better, that no pain 915  
 Can equal anger infinite provok'd.

But wherefore thou alone ? wherefore with thee  
 Came not all hell broke loose ? is pain to them  
 Less pain, less to be fled ; or thou than they  
 Less hardy to endure ? Courageous Chief ! 920  
 The first in flight from pain ! hadst thou alleg'd  
 To thy deserted host this cause of flight,  
 Thou surely hadst not come sole fugitive.

To which the Fiend thus answer'd, frowning  
 stern.

Not that I less endure, or shrink from pain, 925  
 Insulting Angel ! well thou know'st I stood  
 Thy fiercest, when in battle to thy aid  
 The blasting vollied thunder made all speed,

Ver. 927. *Thy fiercest*,] Dr. Bentley reads "*The fiercest*," that is, pain : But "*Thy fiercest*" is right, and we may understand it with Dr. Pearce, "*Thy fiercest attack*," or, with Mr. Richardson, "*Thy fiercest enemy*." *Fiercest* is used as a substantive, as Milton often uses adjectives. Dr. Pearce gives several instances ; "*The sensible of pain*," B. ii. 278 ; "*The stony from their hearts*," B. xi. 4 ; "*His best of man*," *ibid.* 497.

NEWTON.

Ver. 928. *The blasting*] Thus it is in the first edition : The

And seconded thy else not dreaded spear.  
 But still thy words at random, as before, 930  
 Argue thy inexperience what behoves  
 From hard assays and ill successes past  
 A faithful leader, not to hazard all  
 Through ways of danger by himself untried:  
 I, therefore, I alone first undertook 935  
 To wing the desolate abyss, and spy  
 This new created world, whereof in Hell  
 Fame is not silent, here in hope to find  
 Better abode, and my afflicted Powers  
 To settle here on earth, or in mid air; 940  
 Though for possession put to try once more  
 What thou and thy gay legions dare against;  
 Whose easier business were to serve their Lord  
 High up in Heaven, with songs to hymn his  
 throne,  
 And practis'd distances to cringe, not fight. 945

second has it *Thy*; but it is wrong no doubt. The word occurs very often thereabout, and probably occasioned the mistake. The sense requires it to be *The*. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 944. ——— with songs to hymn his throne,

And practis'd distances to cringe, not fight.] This is the untamed insolence of Prometheus to the Chorus, *Prom. Vind.* v. 945. edit. Schütz.

Σέβω, προσεύχω, θύπτω τὸν κρατοῦντ' αἰὲ.

Ἐμὲν δ' ἱλασσοι Ζηνὸς ἢ μηδὲν μίλοι.

Ver. 945. And practis'd distances to cringe,] *With* is understood. "With songs to hymn his throne, and with practis'd distances to cringe." Dr. Bentley has strangely mistaken it.

PEARCE.



To whom the warriour-Angel soon replied.  
 To say and straight unsay, pretending first  
 Wife to fly pain, professing next the spy,  
 Argues no leader but a liar trac'd, 949  
 Satan, and couldst thou faithful add? O name,  
 O sacred name of faithfulness profan'd!  
 Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?  
 Army of Fiends, fit body to fit head.  
 Was this your discipline and faith engag'd,  
 Your military obedience, to dissolve 955  
 Allegiance to the acknowledg'd Power supreme?  
 And thou, fly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem  
 Patron of liberty, who more than thou \*  
 Once fawn'd, and cring'd, and servily ador'd  
 Heaven's awful Monarch? wherefore, but in  
 hope 960  
 To dispossess him, and thyself to reign?  
 But mark what I arreed thee now, Avant;  
 Fly thither whence thou fledst! If from this hour  
 Within these hallow'd limits thou appear,  
 Back to the infernal pit I drag thee chain'd, 965

Ver. 962. *But mark what I arreed thee now,*] The manner, in which Mercury denounces punishment to Prometheus, is similar. See *Æsch. Prom. Vinct.* v. 1079. ed. supr.

'Αλλ' οὐκ μίμησθ' ἄτ' ἰγὼ πολλόν κ. τ. λ.

*Arreed*, or *aread*, is a Saxon word signifying to *appoint*, to *decree*; in which sense it is used by Chaucer, and by bishop Hall in his Satires.

Ver. 965. ————— *I drag thee*] The present tense used for the future, to signify the immediate execution of the menace, HUMER.

And seal thee so, as henceforth not to scorn  
The facile gates of Hell too slightly barr'd.

So threaten'd he ; but Satan to no threats  
Gave heed, but waxing more in rage replied.

Then when I am thy captive talk of chains,  
Proud limitary Cherub ! but ere then 971  
Far heavier load thyself expect to feel  
From my prevailing arm, though Heaven's King  
Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers,  
Us'd to the yoke, draw'st his triumphant wheels

A Latinism, and very emphatical. "*Quæ prima pericula  
sitis,*" Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 367. "*Cui famula trador ? Quem do-  
minum voco ?*" Seneca, *Troad.* 473. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 966. *And seal thee so,*] This seems to allude to the  
chaining of Satan, *Rev.* xx. 3. "And he cast him *into the bot-  
tomless pit*, and shut him, and *set a seal upon him.*" HUME.

Ver. 971. *Proud limitary Cherub !*] Thou proud *prescribing*  
Angel, that presume'st to *limit* me, and appoint my prison, accord-  
ing to Mr. Hume. Or rather, *limitary*, *set to guard the bounds* ;  
a taunt insulting the good Angel as one employed in a little  
mean office, according to Mr. Richardson. For *limitary*, as Dr.  
Heylin remarks, is from *limitaneus*. *Milites limitanei* are soldiers  
in garrison *upon the frontiers*. And, as Mr. Thyer, adds, the  
word is intended as a scornful sneer upon what Gabriel had just  
said,

—————"if from this hour  
"Within these hallow'd *limits* thou appear." NEWTON.

Ver. 974. *Ride on thy wings, &c.*] This seems to allude to  
Ezekiel's vision, where four cherubims are appointed to the four  
wheels : "And the Cherubims did lift up *their wings*, and the  
wheels beside them ; and the glory of the Lord God of Israel *was  
over them above.*" See chap. i and x and xi. 22. NEWTON.

Or the allusion may be perhaps to that sublime passage, *Psaln*  
xviii. 10, "He *rode upon a Cherub*, and did fly."



In progress through the road of Heaven star-  
pav'd. 976

While thus he spake, the angelick squadron  
bright

Turn'd fiery red, sharpening in mooned horns  
Their phalanx, and began to hem him round  
With ported spears, as thick as when a field 980

Ver. 976. ———— *Heaven star-pav'd.*] So, in  
*Epigrammes &c.* by J. Ashmore, 1621, p. 33. "A speech made  
to the King &c. at Rippon:

"High Jove, with all the gods together met,  
"To see, great King, thy coming to this town,  
"The casements large of *heaven* have open set,\*  
"And from their *star-pav'd* floors have sent me down,  
"Thee in their name to welcome, &c."

Ver. 977. ———— *the angelick squadron*] This is a  
frequent phrase in Italian poetry. Thus in *Poésie Del S. F.*  
Testi, Milan 1658, p. 473.

—————"Efulti il mondo,  
"E da gl'empirei regni  
"Tutto a nozze sì degne  
"De l'*angeliche* squadre applaude il coro."

And in the *Adamo* of Andreini, Milan 1617, p. 3.

"O merauiglie noue, ò sacro, ò santo  
"De l'*angeliche* squadre eterno oggetto."

Ver. 980. *With ported spears,*] With their spears borne  
pointed towards him: A military term. HUMPH.

Ibid. ———— *as thick as when a field &c.*] It is familiar  
with the poets to compare an army with their spears and swords  
to a field of standing corn. Homer has a simile much of the  
same nature, comparing the motion of the army, after Agamem-  
non's speech, to the waving of the ears of corn, *Iliad* ii. 147.

NEWTON.

Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends  
 Her bearded grove of ears, which way the wind  
 Sways them; the careful plowman doubting  
     stands,  
 Left on the threshing floor his hopeful sheaves  
 Prove chaff. On the other side, Satan, alarm'd,  
 Collecting all his might, dilated stood,      986  
 Like Teneriff or Atlas, unremov'd :

Virgil has compressed the simile into a single metaphor, equally significative, *Georg.* ii. 142.

“ Nec galeis densisque virum *seges* horruit hastis.”

Ver. 986. ——— dilated *stood*,] Milton is indebted, I fancy, for this nervous expression to the following description of Tasso's Argantes addressing himself to fight with Tancred, *Gier. Lib.* c. xix. st. 12.

“ Ma *disfeso* e eretto il fero Argante.”

*Disfeso* in Italian, is exactly the same with *dilated* in English, and expresses very strongly the attitude of an eager and undaunted combatant, where fury not only seems to erect and enlarge his stature, but expands as it were his whole frame, and extends every limb. I do not remember to have ever before met with the word *dilated* applied in the same manner in our language. THYER.

Ver. 987. *Like Teneriff or Atlas, unremov'd* :] So Satan in Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* c. iv. st. 6.

“ Ne pur *Calpe* s' inalza, ò 'l magno *Atlante*,

“ Ch' anzi lui non paresse un picciol colle.”

*Unremoved* for *immoveable* is very poetical, and justified by Milton's “ conjugal attraction *unreprov'd*,” and Spenser's “ *unreproved* truth.” See the note on v. 492. THYER.

So, in the first part of Shakspeare's *K. Hen.* vi.

“ Strong-fixed is the house of Lancaster,

“ And, like a mountain, not to be remov'd.” STREVENS.

His stature reach'd the sky, and on his crest  
 Sat Horror plum'd; nor wanted in his grasp  
 What seem'd both spear and shield: Now dreadful  
 deeds

990

Might have ensued, nor only Paradise  
 In this commotion, but the starry cope  
 Of Heaven perhaps, or all the elements  
 At least had gone to wrack, disturb'd and torn  
 With violence of this conflict, had not soon

995

Ver. 988. *His stature reach'd the sky,*] It is probable, that, besides Homer's *Dijcord*, and Virgil's *Fame*, mentioned by Addison, Milton alluded likewise to that noble description in the book of *Wisdom*, xviii. 16; “*It touch'd the heaven, but it stood upon the earth.*” NEWTON.

Caxton, in the *Lyf of Saynt Anthonye*, says, “*The devyl apperyed to hym in so grete a stature that he touch'd the heaven.*” *Golden Legende*, 1483, fol. 115. BOWLE.

Ver. 989. *Sat Horror plum'd;*] See Mr. Warton's note, *In Quintum Novembrii*, v. 148.

Ibid. —*nor wanted in his grasp &c.*] This is said to signify that he wanted not arms, though he was but just raised out of the form of a toad. He was represented as in arms, B. ii. 812, when he was upon the point of engaging with Death; and we must suppose that his power, as an Angel, was such, that he could assume them upon occasion whenever he pleased. NEWTON.

Ver. 991. —————, *nor only Paradise &c.*] This representation of what must have happened, if Gabriel and Satan had encountered, is imagined in these few lines with a nobleness suitable to the occasion, and is an improvement upon a thought in Homer, where he represents the terrours which must have attended the conflict of two such powers as Jupiter and Neptune, *Iliad*. xv. 224.

————— μάλα γὰρ πρὶ μάχης ἐπύθετο καὶ ἄλλοι,  
 Οἷον εἰργαστοὶ εἰς δαί, κρότοι ἀμφὶς ἰόντες. NEWTON.

The Eternal, to prevent such horrid fray,  
 Hung forth in Heaven his golden scales, yet seen  
 Betwixt Aſtrea and the Scorpion ſign,  
 Wherein all things created firſt he weigh'd,  
 The pendulous round earth with balanc'd air 1000

Ver. 996. *The Eternal, to prevent ſuch horrid fray,  
 Hung forth in Heaven his golden ſcales, yet ſeen  
 Betwixt Aſtrea and the Scorpion ſign,*]

Addiſon has referred to the golden ſcales, in the twenty ſecond *Iliad*, in which Jupiter weighs the fates of Hector and Achilles; and to Virgil's ſcales, in the twelfth *Æneid*, in which the fates of Turnus and Æneas are weighed.

But, as Dr. Newton has obſerved, the alluſion to the heavenly ſign, *Libra*, or *The Scales*, is a beauty that is not in Homer or Virgil, and gives a manifeſt advantage over both their deſcriptions.

Ver. 999. *Wherein all things created firſt he weigh'd,*] This expreſſion of weighing the creation at firſt, and of all events ſince, gives us a ſublime idea of Providence, and is conformable to the ſtyle of Scripture, *Iſaiah* xl. 12. "Who weighed the mountains in ſcales, and the hills in a balance." See alſo *Job* xxviii. 25, and xxxvii. 16. And, for weighing particular events, ſee *1 Sam.* ii. 3. "By him actions are weighed." And *Prov.* xvi. 2. "The Lord weigheth the ſpirits." I do not recollect an inſtance of weighing battles particularly, but there is foundation enough for that in Homer and Virgil: And, for weighing kingdoms, ſee *Daniel* v. 26, 27. "God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finiſhed it; thou art weighed in the balances." So finely has Milton improved upon the fictions of the poets by the eternal truths of Holy Scripture. NEWTON.

Ver. 1000. *The pendulous round earth*] The round world, that ſeems to "hang," as *Job* ſays, "on nothing," xxvi. 7. For ſo is the air, in reſpect of any baſis or ſuſtentation. HUMPH. Shakſpeare, in *K. Lear*, uſes a ſimilar expreſſion; "the pendulous air."

But compare Milton's poem *In Obitum Procancellarii*, v. 3.

In counterpoise, now ponders all events,  
 Battles and realms : In these he put two weights,  
 The sequel each of parting and of fight :

“ Qui pendulum telluris orbem

“ Iäpeti colitis nepotes.”

Ver. 1003. *The sequel each of parting and of fight;*] Dr. Bentley reads “ *The signal each &c.*” To understand which of these two readings suits the place best, let us consider the poet’s thought, which was this: God put in the golden scales two weights: in the one scale he put the weight, which was the *sequel* (that is represented the consequence) of Satan’s *parting* from them; in the other scale he put the weight, which was the *sequel* of Satan’s *fighting*: neither of the scales had any thing in it immediately relating to Gabriel: And therefore Dr. Bentley mistakes (I think) when he says, that the ascending weight, Satan’s, was the signal to him of defeat; the descending, Gabriel’s, the *signal* to him of victory: They were both signals (if signals) to Satan only, for he only was *weigh’d*, ver. 1012; or rather they showed him what would be the consequence both of his fighting and of his retreating. The scale in which lay the weight, that was the *sequel* of his *fighting*, by ascending showed him that he was *light in arms*, and could not obtain victory; whereas the other scale, in which was the *sequel* of his *parting* or retreating, having descended, it was a sign that his going off quietly would be his wisest and weightiest attempt.

The reader will excuse my having been so long in this note, when he considers that Dr. Bentley, and probably many others have misunderstood Milton’s thought about the scales, judging of it by what they read of Jupiter’s scales in Homer and Virgil; the account of which is very different from this of Milton; for in them the fates of the two combatants are weighed one against the other, and the descent of one of the scales foreshowed the death of him whose fate lay in that scale, “ *quo vergat pondere letum* :” whereas in Milton nothing is weighed but what relates to Satan only, and in the two scales are weighed the two different events of his retreating and his fighting. From what has been said it may appear pretty plainly, that Milton by *sequel* meant

The latter quick up flew, and kick'd the  
beam ;

1064

the consequence or *event*, as it is expressed in ver. 1001, and then there will be no occasion for Dr. Bentley's *signal* ; both because it is a very improper word in this place, and because a *signal of parting and of fight*, can be nothing else than a signal when to part, and when to fight ; which he will not pretend to be the poet's meaning. PEARCE.

It may be proper to produce the passages from Homer and Virgil, of which so much has been said ; that the reader may have the satisfaction of comparing them with Milton. *Iliad* viii. 69.

Καὶ τότε δὴ χρεῖσιν αὖ πατὴρ ἐτίθειναι τάλαν' αἶ-  
'Εν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε ταηλαγίης θανάτοιο,  
Τρώων δ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων·  
Ἐλκε δὲ μίσσα λαβὼν, ῥίπτε δ' αἰσιμον ἦμαρ Ἀχαιῶν,  
Αἱ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν κῆρες ἐπὶ χροῖ παλυβοτείρῃ  
Ἐξίσθη, Τρώων δὲ, πρὸς ἑρᾶν ἐὺρυν ἄνρδιν.

The same lines, *mutatis mutandis*, are applied to Hector and Achilles in the twenty-second book.

The passage in Virgil is shorter, *Æneid* xii. 725.

“ Jupiter ipse duas æquato examine lances  
“ Sustinet ; et fata imponit diversa duorum ;  
“ Quem damnet labor, et quo vergat pondere lethum.”

Though there is some resemblance in these passages to Milton, yet there is also great difference. There are *golden scales* in Homer, as well as in Milton ; but Milton, in some measure, authorizes the fiction, by making his scales *the balance in the heavens*. In Homer and Virgil the combatants are weighed one against another ; But here only Satan is weighed ; in one scale the consequence of his retreating, in the other of his fighting. And there is this farther improvement, that, as in Homer and Virgil the fates are weighed to satisfy Jupiter himself, it is here done to satisfy only the contending parties ; for Satan to read his own destiny. So that when Milton imitates a fine passage, he does not imitate it servilely, but makes it as I may say an



Which Gabriel spying, thus bespake the Fiend.  
Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know'st  
mine;

Neither our own, but given: What folly then  
To boast what arms can do? since thine no more  
Than Heaven permits, nor mine, though doubled  
now

1009

To trample thee as mire: For proof look up,  
And read thy lot in yon celestial sign;  
Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light,  
how weak,

original of his own, by his manner of varying and improving it. NEWTON.

Ver. 1005. *Which Gabriel spying,*] Triffino, in the 27th book of his *Italia Liberata*, represents the Creator weighing, with his *golden scales*, the fates of the contending parties, the Romans and the Goths; and, on the descent of the one and the ascent of the other, he adds

“ *Il che vedendo gli angioli divini,  
Conobber chiara la sentenza eterna,  
E totalmente abbandonaro i Goti.*”

Ver. 1008. ———— *since thine no more  
Than Heaven permits, nor mine,*] *Thine* and *mine* refer to *strength*, v. 1006, not to *arms*, the substantive preceding. NEWTON.

Ver. 1010. *To trample thee as mire:*] *Isaiah* x. 6. “To tread them down like the mire in the streets.” GILLIES.

Ver. 1012. *Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light,  
how weak,*] He does not make the ascending scale the sign of victory as in Homer and Virgil, but of lightness and weakness according to that of Belshazzar, *Dan.* v. 27. “*Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.*”

If thou resist. The Fiend look'd up, and knew  
His mounted scale aloft : Nor more ; but fled  
Murmuring, and with him fled the shades of  
night.

1015

So true it is, that Milton oftener imitates Scripture than Homer  
and Virgil, even where he is thought to imitate them most.

NEWTON.

THE END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.



THE  
FIFTH BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE LOST.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*Morning approached, Eve relates to Adam her troublesome dream ; he likes it not, yet comforts her : They come forth to their day-labours : Their morning hymn at the door of their bowrer. God, to render man inexcusable, sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand, who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradise ; his appearance described ; his coming discerned by Adam afar off sitting at the door of his bowrer ; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choicest fruits of Paradise got together by Eve ; their discourse at table : Raphael performs his message, minds Adam of his state and of his enemy ; relates, at Adam's request, who that enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from his first revolt in Heaven, and the occasion thereof ; how he drew his legions after him to the parts of the north, and there incited them to rebel with him, persuading all but only Abdiel a Seraph, who in argument dissuades and opposes him, then forsakes him.*

# PARADISE LOST.

## BOOK V.

NOW Morn, her rosy steps in the eastern clime  
 Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient  
 pearl,  
 When Adam wak'd, so custom'd; for his sleep  
 Was aery-light, from pure digestion bred,  
 And temperate vapours bland, which the only  
 found 5

Ver. 1. *Now Morn, her rosy steps &c.*] This is the morning of the day, after Satan's coming to the earth; and, as Homer calls the morning *ῥοδοδάκτυλος rosy-fingered*, Milton here gives her *rosy steps*, and, in B. vi. 3. a *rosy hand*. The morn is first *gray*, then *rosy*, upon the nearer approach of the sun. And she is said to *sow* the earth &c. by the same sort of metaphor as Lucretius says of the sun, "*Lumine conferit arva*," ii. 211.

NEWTON.

Mr. Upton and Mr. Wakefield have noted the existence of this metaphor, in a piece of unknown poetry quoted by Aristotle in his *Poeticks*: ΣΠΕΙΡΩΝ ΣΠΟΝΤΙΣΑΝ ΦΛΟΓΑ.

I may add, from the old translation of the ninety-seventh *Psalms*, "*Light is sown for the righteous*."

Mr. Thyer notes the propriety of Milton's expression, *sow'd the earth with orient pearl*, as more observable than that of Lucretius; since the *dew-drops* have something of the shape and appearance of *scattered seeds*.

Ver. 5. Fenton thinks this, and the following line, to have been thus dictated by Milton:

Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,  
Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill matin song

" And temperate vapours bland *from fuming rills*,

" *Which the only sound of leaves* (Aurora's fan)

" Lightly dispers'd, &c."

But he has mistaken the sense: For *which*, as Dr. Newton has observed, refers to *sleep*, and not to *vapours*, the substantive immediately preceding; " which *sleep* was dispersed by the sound only of leaves, and fuming rills, and songs of birds."

Ibid. ——— *the only sound*] The sound *alone*, as Dr. Pearce observes; a phrase, countenanced, as Mr. Thyer adds, by Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* v. xi. 30.

" As if *the only sound* thereof she feared."

Ver. 6. ——— *fuming rills*,] *Fumes* or *steams* rise from the water in the morning, according to v. 186.

" Ye Mists and Exhalations, that now rise

" From hill or *steaming* lake, &c."

But they do not make a noise as *fuming*, but only as *rills*.

NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *Aurora's fan*,] The fanning winds among the leaves may be properly called the *fan of the morning*; and it is not unusual to refer a thing, which follows two substantives, to the first of the two only. NEWTON.

Compare Sylvester's *Du Bart.* ed. supr. p. 342.

—————" Now began

" *Aurora's usher*, with his *windy fan*,

" Gently to shake the woods on every side."

The *winds* are also called "heaven's fresh *fans*," *ibid.* p. 244.

Ver. 7. *Lightly* dispers'd,] This elegant expression of *dispersing sleep*, is justified, as Dr. Newton has observed, by Sophocles, *Trachin.* v. 1006.

————— καὶ μὴ ΣΚΕΔΑΣΑΙ

Τῷ ἀπὸ ματὸς βλεφάρων δ' ὙΠΝΟΝ.

Ibid. ——— *the shrill matin song*

*Of birds* &c.] So Evander is waked in Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 456.

Of birds on every bough ; so much the more  
 His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve  
 With tresses discompos'd, and glowing cheek, 10  
 As through unquiet rest : He, on his side  
 Leaning half rais'd, with looks of cordial love  
 Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld  
 Beauty, which, whether waking or asleep,  
 Shot forth peculiar graces ; then with voice 15  
 Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,

“ Evandrum ex humili tecto lux fuscitat alma,

“ Et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus.”

And Erminia in Tasso, by the sweet noise of birds, winds,  
 and waters, *Gier. Lib. c. vii. st. 5.*

“ Non si destò fin che garrir gli augelli,

“ Non sentì lieti, e salutar gli arbori,

“ E mormorare il fiume, e gli arboscelli,

“ E con l'onda scherzar l'aura, e co' fiori.” NEWTON.

Mr. Bowle cites the following passage from the *Rime* del Ang.  
 Grillo, p.<sup>te</sup> 1.<sup>ma</sup> fol. 9. b.

“ Ecco forger l'Aurora, ecco gli augelli

“ Salutar la co'l canto.”

The *spring matin song of birds*, it may be added, is the very  
 expression of Sophocles, *Electra*, v. 18.—See also Herrick's *Hesperides*, 1648, p. 74.

“ When all the birds have matted scyds,

“ And sung their thankfull hymnes, &c.”

Ver. 15. *Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,*] For  
 this delightful simile Milton was probably obliged to his admired  
 Ben Jonson, in his *Mask of Love reconciled to Virtue* ; Song 3.

“ The fair will think you do them wrong ;

“ Go, choose among—but with a mind

“ As gentle as the brooking wind

“ Runs o'er the gentler flowers,” TYLER.



Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. Awake,  
 My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,  
 Heaven's last best gift, my ever new delight!  
 Awake: The morning shines, and the fresh field 20  
 Calls us; we lose the prime, to mark how spring  
 Our tender plants, how blows the citron grove,  
 What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,  
 How nature paints her colours, how the bee  
 Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet. 25

Such whispering wak'd her, but with startled  
 eye

On Adam, whom embracing, thus she spake.

O sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,  
 My glory, my perfection! glad I see  
 Thy face, and morn return'd; for I this night 30  
 (Such night till this I never pass'd) have dream'd,  
 If dream'd, not, as I oft am wont, of thee,  
 Works of day past, or morrow's next design,

Ver. 17. ————— *Awake,*

*My fairest, my espous'd, &c.*] Addison has observed  
 the similarity of this address to that of Solomon, *Cant.* ii. 10, &c.  
 See also Spenser, in his *Epithalamion*, v. 74.

“Wake now, my love! awake, for it is time:

“The rosy morn long since left Tithon's bed, &c.”

Ver. 21. ————— *we lose the prime,*] The *prime* of the  
 day; as he calls it below, v. 170, “that sweet *hour of prime*.”  
 And B. ix. 200.

“The season, *prime* for sweetest scents and airs.”

So Spenser, *Fær. Qu.* i. vi. 13.

“They all, as glad as birds of joyous *prime*.”

NEWTON.

But of offence and trouble, which my mind  
 Knew never till this irksome night : Methought,  
 Close at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk 36  
 With gentle voice ; I thought it thine : It said,  
 " Why sleep'st thou Eve ? now is the pleasant  
 time,  
 " The cool, the silent, save where silence yields  
 " To the night-warbling bird, that now awake 40  
 " Tunes sweetest his love-labour'd song ; now  
 reigns

Ver. 41. *Tunes sweetest his love-labour'd song ;*] Spenser in his *Epithalamion*, a poem which Milton seems often to imitate, has it "*the bird's love-learned song.*" We must farther observe, that our author takes great liberties in his use of the genders, sometimes making *him* and *her* and *it* of the same thing or creature. We have a very remarkable instance in B. vi. 878.

" Disburden'd Heaven rejoic'd, and soon repair'd

" *Her* mural breach, returning whence *it* roll'd."

The nightingale, though it is the cock that sings, he *makes* usually of the feminine gender, as in B. iv. 602.

—— " the wakeful nightingale ;

" *She* all night long *her* amorous descant sung."

See likewise B. iii. 40. B. vii. 436. But here he says *his love-labour'd song*, as the speech is addressed to Eve. And for the same reason he says

—— " Heaven wakes with all *his* eyes."

though commonly he uses Heaven itself in the feminine gender, as in B. vii. 205.

—— " Heaven open'd wide

" *Her* ever-during gates ——"

and again; B. vii. 574.

—— " He through Heaven,

" That open'd wide *her* blazing portals &c."

“ Full-orb’d the moon, and with more pleasing  
light

“ Shadowy fets off the face of things ; in vain,  
“ If none regard ; Heaven wakes with all his eyes,  
“ Whom to behold but thee, Nature’s desire ?  
“ In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment  
“ Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.”

I rose as at thy call, but found thee not ;  
To find thee I directed then my walk ;  
And on, methought, alone I pass’d through ways  
That brought me on a sudden to the tree 51  
Of interdicted knowledge : fair it seem’d,  
Much fairer to my fancy than by day :  
And, as I wondering look’d, beside it stood

The reason of this alteration of the genders the judicious reader, when he examines each passage, will easily perceive. NEWTON.

Ver. 44. ——— *Heaven wakes with all his eyes,*] Here again he has his master Spenser full in view, iii. xi. 45.

——— “ with how many eyes

“ High Heaven beholds &c.” NEWTON.

He had, rather, G. Fletcher in view. See his *Christ’s Victory*, p. i. ft. 78.

——— “ *Heaven awaken’d all his eyes*

“ To see another sunnè at midnight rise.”

Ver. 49. *To find thee I directed then my walk ;*] So Ennius apud Ciceronem, *De Divinat.* i. 20.

——— “ ita sola

“ Post illa, germana foror, errare videbar,

“ Tardaque vestigare, et quærere te, neque posse

“ Corde capeffero : semita nulla pedem stabilibat.”

NEWTON.

One shap'd and wing'd like one of those from  
Heaven 55

By us oft seen; his dewy locks distill'd  
Ambrosia; on that tree he also gaz'd;  
And "O fair plant," said he, "with fruit sur-  
charg'd,

"Deigns none to ease thy load, and taste thy  
sweet,

"Nor God, nor Man? Is knowledge so despis'd?

"Or envy, or what reserve forbids to taste? 61

"Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold

"Longer thy offer'd good; why else set here?"

This said, he paus'd not, but with venturous arm

He pluck'd, he tasted; medamp horror chill'd 65

At such bold words vouch'd with a deed so bold:

But he thus, overjoy'd; "O fruit divine,

"Sweet of thyself, but much more sweet thus  
cropt,

"Forbidden here, it seems, as only fit

"For Gods, yet able to make Gods of Men: 70

Ver. 56. ————— *his dewy locks distill'd*  
*Ambrosia;*] So Virgil, of Venus, *Æn. i. 403.*

"Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem

"Spiravere." HUMERUS.

Mr. Bowle cites from Tasso, *Gier. Lib. c. xv. st. 60.*

—————"le sue bionde

"Chiome *stillavan* cristallino humore."

Spenser, it may be added, translates *ἀμβροσίας χαίταις*, which  
Homer gives Jupiter in the first *Iliad*, by the phrase, "his  
*nectar-dew'd locks*," *Faer. Qu. vii. vi. 30.*

“ And why not Gods of Men; since good, the  
more

“ Communicated, more abundant grows,

“ The author not impair’d, but honour’d more?

“ Here, happy creature, fair angelick Eve!

“ Partake thou also; happy though thou art, 75

“ Happier thou may’st be, worthier canst not be:

“ Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods

“ Thyself a Goddess, not to earth confin’d,

“ But sometimes in the air, as we, sometimes

“ Ascend to Heaven, by merit thine, and see 80

“ What life the Gods live there, and such live  
thou.”

So saying, he drew nigh, and to me held,

Even to my mouth of that same fruit held part

Which he had pluck’d; the pleasant savoury smell

So quicken’d appetite, that I, methought, 85

Could not but taste. Forthwith up to the clouds

With him I flew, and underneath beheld

The earth outstretch’d immense, a prospect wide

And various: Wondering at my flight and change

To this high exaltation; suddenly 90

My guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk  
down,

And fell asleep; but O, how glad I wak’d

Ver. 79. *But sometimes in the air, as we, sometimes &c.*] The words *as we* are so placed between the two sentences, as equally to relate to both; and in the first sentence the verb *be* is understood. **PARCER.**

To find this but a dream! Thus Eve her night  
Related, and thus Adam answer'd sad.

Best image of myself, and dearer half, 95  
The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep  
Affects me equally; nor can I like  
This uncouth dream, of evil sprung, I fear;  
Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,  
Created pure. But know, that in the soul 100  
Are many lesser faculties, that serve  
Reason as chief; among these Fancy next  
Her office holds; of all external things,  
Which the five watchful senses represent,  
She forms imaginations, aery shapes, 105  
Which Reason, joining or disjoining, frames  
All what we affirm or what deny, and call  
Our knowledge or opinion; then retires  
Into her private cell, when nature rests.  
Oft in her absence mimick Fancy wakes 110

Ver. 93. ————— *Thus Eve her night  
Related,*] Thus Eve repeated her dream. Night,  
for the visions and dreams frequent in it. So, Sil. Ital. iii. 216.

“ *Promissa evolvit somni, noctemque retractat.*”

HUME.

Ver. 110. *Oft in her absence mimick Fancy wakes*  
→ *To imitate her; but, misjoining shapes,*  
*Wild work produces oft, and most in dreams;*] Com-  
pare Sir John Davies's *Noſce tiſſum*, p. 47, edit. 1608. of “*The  
Phantaſie* :”

“ This buſie Power is working day and night;  
“ For, when the outward Senſes reſt do take,  
“ A thouſand Dreames, phantaſticall and light,  
“ With fluttering wings do keepe her ſtill awake.”

To imitate her ; but, misjoining shapes,  
 Wild work produces oft, and most in dreams ;  
 Ill matching words and deeds long past or late.  
 Some such resemblances, methinks, I find  
 Of our last evening's talk, in this thy dream, 115  
 But with addition strange ; yet be not sad.  
 Evil into the mind of God or Man  
 May come and go, so unapprov'd, and leave  
 No spot or blame behind : Which gives me hope  
 That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream, 120  
 Waking thou never wilt consent to do.  
 Be not dishearten'd then, nor cloud those looks,  
 That wont to be more cheerful and serene,  
 Than when fair morning first smiles on the world ;

Ver. 117. *Evil into the mind of God or Man*] *God* here must signify *Angel*, as it frequently does in this poem. For "*God cannot be tempted with evil*," as St. James says (i. 13.) of the Supreme Being. And Milton had just before (as Mr. Thyer also observes) used the term *God* in the same meaning, ver. 59.

"Deigns none to ease thy load and taste thy sweet,

"Nor *God* nor Man?"

again, ver. 70.

— "yet able to make *Gods* of Men." NEWTON.

Ver. 124. *Than when fair morning first smiles on the world ;*] So, in v. 168.

"Sure pledge of day, that crown'd the *smiling morn*

"With thy bright circlet."

Again, B. xi. 173.

— "see, the *morn*,

"All unconcern'd with our unrest, begins

"Her rosy progress *smiling*."

So Shakespeare, *Rom. and Juliet*, A. ii. S. iii.

"The gray-eyed *morn* smiles on the frowning night."

And let us to our fresh employments rise 125  
 Among the groves, the fountains, and the flowers  
 That open now their choicest bosom'd smells,  
 Reserv'd from night, and kept for thee in store.

So cheer'd he his fair spouse, and she was  
 cheer'd ;

But silently a gentle tear let fall 130  
 From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair ;  
 Two other precious drops that ready stood,  
 Each in their crystal sluice, he ere they fell  
 Kifs'd, as the gracious signs of sweet remorse  
 And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended. 135

So all was clear'd, and to the field they haste.  
 But first, from under shady arborous roof  
 Soon as they forth were come to open sight  
 Of day-spring, and the sun, who, scarce up-risen,  
 With wheels yet hovering o'er the ocean-brim, 140  
 Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray,

Ver. 129. *So cheer'd he his fair spouse, and she was cheer'd ;*] A manner of speaking that occurs in *Jeremiah* xx. 7. "*Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 137. *But first, from under shady arborous roof*  
*Soon as they forth were come &c.*] In Milton's own editions a comma stands after *roof*; which pointing is followed by Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley. Dr. Pearce first noticed this mistake, which represents the hymn of Adam and Eve as said by them, at one and the same time, *from under the roof*, and *in the open sight of the sun*. This contradiction is obviated by his punctuation of the passage; of which he also gives this construction: "*But first, they lowly bow'd adoring, v. 144, as soon as they were come forth from under the roof of the arbour.*"



Discovering in wide landſkip all the caſt  
 Of Paradife and Eden's happy plains,  
 Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began  
 Their orifons, each morning duly paid 145  
 In various ſtyle; for neither various ſtyle  
 Nor holy rapture wanted they to praiſe  
 Their Maker, in fit ſtrains pronounc'd, or ſung  
 Unmeditated; ſuch prompt eloquence  
 Flow'd from their lips, in proſe or numerous  
 verſe, 150

Ver. 145. ——— *each morning duly paid*

*In various ſtyle;*] As it is very well known that our author was no friend to ſet forms of prayer, it is no wonder that he aſcribes extemporary effuſions to our firſt parents; but even while he attributes ſtrains *unmeditated* to them, he himſelf imitates the Pſalmiſt. NEWTON.

He has expreſſed the ſame notions of devotion, as Mr. Thyer has obſerved, in ſimilar terms, B. iv. 736.

————— “ other rites  
 “ Obſerving none, but adoration pure  
 “ Which God likes beſt ———”

And it has been ſaid of the poet, that he did not in the latter part of his life uſe *any religious rite* in his family. But, as Dr. Gillies remarks, unleſs the proof be very clear, he, who obſerves how careful Milton is to mention the worſhip of Adam and Eve, B. iv. 720, B. v. 137, B. ix. 197, and B. xi. 136, will not be eaſily induced to believe that he entirely neglected the worſhip of God in his family.

Ver. 150. ——— *numerous verſe,*] An expreſſion in P. Fletcher's *Pſyc. Eclogues*, 1633, p. 2.

————— “ I learnt to ſing  
 “ Among my peers, apt words to fitly binde  
 “ In *numerous verſe*.”

More tuneable than needed late or harp  
To add more sweetness ; and they thus began.

These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,  
Almighty ! Thine this universal frame,  
Thus wonderous fair ; Thyself how wonderous  
then !

155

Unspeakable, who sitst above these heavens  
To us invisible, or dimly seen  
In these thy lowest works ; yet these declare  
Thy goodness beyond thought, and power divine.  
Speak, ye who best can tell, ye sons of light, 160  
Angels ; for ye behold him, and with songs

Ver. 153. *These are thy glorious works, &c.*] The author has raised our expectation, by commending the *various style*, and *holy rapture*, and *prompt eloquence*, of our first parents ; and indeed the hymn is truly divine, and will fully answer all that we expected. It is an imitation, or rather a sort of paraphrase, of the 148th *Psalms*, and (of what is a paraphrase upon that) the *Canticle* placed after *Te Deum* in the Liturgy, "*O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord, &c.*" which is the Song of the three children in the Apocrypha. NEWTON.

Ver. 155. ——— *Thyself how wonderous then !*] *Wisd.* xiii. 3, 4, 5. "With whose beauty, if they being delighted, took them to be Gods ; let them know how much better the Lord of them is : for the first Author of beauty hath created them. But if they were astonished at their power and virtue, let them understand by them how much mightier he is that made them. For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionably the Maker of them is seen." NEWTON.

Ver. 160. *Speak, ye who best can tell, &c.*] He is *unspeakable*, v. 156 : No creature can speak worthily of him as he is ; but speak, ye who are best able, ye Angels, ye in Heaven ; on Earth join all ye Creatures, &c. NEWTON.



And choral symphonies, day without night,  
 Circle his throne rejoicing ; ye in Heaven.  
 On Earth join all ye Creatures to extol  
 Him first, him last, him midst, and without end.  
 Fairest of stars, last in the train of night, 166  
 If better thou belong not to the dawn,  
 Sure pledge of day, that crown’st the smiling morn  
 With thy bright circlet, praise him in thy sphere,  
 While day arises, that sweet hour of prime. 170

Ver. 162. ———— *day without night,*] According to Milton there was *grateful solitude like day and night in Heaven*, B. vi. 8. And we presume that he took the notion from Scripture, *Rev. vii. 15.* “*They are before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple.*” But still it was *day without night*, that is, without such night as ours, for the darkness there is no more than *grateful twilight*. *Night comes not there in darker veil.* See ver. 645. of this book. NEWTON.

Ver. 163. *Circle his throne rejoicing ;*] See Mr. Warton’s note, *Ad Salfillum, Scanzotes*, v. 4.

Ver. 165. *Him first, him last, him midst,*] Theocritus, *Idyl. xvii. 3.*

————— *ὦν πρότεροις λογίσθαι,  
 καὶ ὀύματος, καὶ μίσσους.*

And then how has Milton improved it, by adding *and without end !* as he is celebrating God, and Theocritus only a man.

NEWTON.

Ver. 166. *Fairest of stars,*] So Homer calls it, *Iliad xxii. 318.*

*Ἐσπῆρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἑραῷ ἱεράταις ἀστῆρ.*

*Lost in the train of night :* Ovid speaks much in the same manner, *Met. ii. 114.*

————— “*diffuglunt stellæ, quarum agmina cogit*

“*Lucifer, et cæli statione novissimus exit.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 170. *While day arises, that sweet hour of prime.*] He has thus expressed the beauty of the morning, in *Samson Agonistes :*

Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,  
Acknowledge him thy greater ; found his praise  
In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st,  
And when high noon hast gain'd, and when thou  
fall'st.

174

Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st,

————— “ here I feel amends,  
“ The breath of Heaven fresh-blowing, pure and sweet,  
“ With day-spring born.”

The poet was an early riser. See note on *Lycidas*, v. 27.

Ver. 172. *Acknowledge him thy greater* ;] It is not an improbable reading which Dr. Bentley proposes “ Acknowledge him *Creator*,” or as Mr. Thyer “ Acknowledge *thy Creator* :” but I suppose the author made use of *greater* answering to *great*.

“ Thou Sun of this *great* world both eye and soul,  
“ Acknowledge him thy *greater*.”

So Ovid calls the sun *the eye of the world*, “ *Mundi oculus*,” *Met.* iv. 228. And Pliny *the soul*, *Nat. Hist.* lib. i. c. 6. “ *Hunc mundi esse totius animum*.” And the expression *thy greater* may be fitly paralleled with *thy fiercest*, *B.* iv. 927, and *his greater* in *Paradise Regained*, *B.* i. 279. NEWTON.

Ver. 173. *In thy eternal course* ;] *In thy continual course*. Thus Virgil calls the sun, moon and stars *eternal* fires, *Æn.* ii. 154. “ *Vos, æterni ignes* ;” and the sacred fire that was constantly kept burning *eternal* fire, *Æn.* ii. 297.

“ *Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem*,”

NEWTON.

Ver. 174. *And when high noon hast gain'd* ;] See Mr. Warton's note on *Il Pens.* v. 68.

Ver. 175. *Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st*, &c.] The construction is, “ Thou Moon, that now meet'st and now fly'st the orient sun, together with the fix'd Stars, and ye five other wandering Fires, &c.” He had before called upon the *sun* who governs the day, and now he invokes the *moon*, and the *fix'd stars*, and the *planets*, who govern the night, to praise their

With the fix'd Stars, fix'd in their orb that flies ;  
 And ye five other wandering Fires, that move  
 In mystick dance not without song, resound  
 His praise, who out of darknes call'd up light.  
 Air, and ye Elements, the eldest birth 180  
 Of Nature's womb, that in quaternion run

Maker. The moon sometimes *meets* and sometimes *flies* the sun, approaches to and recedes from him in her monthly course. *With the fix'd Stars, fix'd in their orb that flies*; they are fix'd in their orb, but their orb flies, that is, moves round with the utmost rapidity; for Adam is made to speak according to appearances, and he mentions in another place, B. viii. 19 and 21, their *rolling spaces incomprehensible*, and their *swift return diurnal*. And ye *five other wandering Fires*. Dr. Bentley reads *four*; Venus, and the Sun, and Moon, being mentioned before, and only four more remaining, Mercury, and Mars, and Jupiter, and Saturn. And we must either suppose that Milton did not consider the morning star as the planet Venus; or he must be supposed to include the earth, to make up the *other five* besides those he had mentioned; and he calls it elsewhere B. viii. 129. *The planet earth*; though this be not agreeable to the system, according to which he is speaking at present. *Wandering Fires* in opposition to *fix'd Stars*, *That move in mystick dance not without song*, alluding to the doctrine of the ancients, and particularly to Pythagoras's notion of the musick of the spheres. NEWTON.

See notes on v. 620, and on *Arcades*, v. 72.

Ver. 181. ————— *that in quaternion run &c.*] That in a fourfold mixture and combination run a perpetual circle, one element continually changing into another, according to the doctrine of Heraclitus, borrowed from Orpheus. “Et cum quatuor sint genera corporum, vicissitudine eorum mundi continuata natura est. Nam ex terra, aqua: ex aqua, oritur aer: ex aere, æther: deinde retrorsum vicissim ex æthere, aer: inde aqua: ex aqua, terra infima. Sic naturis his, ex quibus omnia constant, sursum, deorsus, ultro, citro commutantibus, mundi partium conjunctio continetur. Cicero de *Nat. Deor.* ii. 33. NEWTON.

Perpetual circle, multiform ; and mix  
 And nourish all things ; let your ceaseless change  
 Vary to our great Maker still new praise.  
 Ye Mists and Exhalations, that now rise 185  
 From hill or steaming lake, dusky or gray,  
 Till the sun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,  
 In honour to the world's great Author rise ;  
 Whether to deck with clouds the uncolour'd sky,  
 Or wet the thirsty earth with falling showers, 190  
 Rising or falling still advance his praise.  
 His praise, ye Winds, that from four quarters  
     blow,  
 Breathe soft or loud ; and, wave your tops, ye  
     Pines,  
 With every plant, in sign of worship wave.  
 Fountains, and ye that warble, as ye flow, 195  
 Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.  
 Join voices all ye living Souls ; Ye Birds,

Ver. 193. ——— *and, wave your tops, ye Pines,*] The Mountains, crowned with trees, bow their heads in sign of worship, in Marino's *Strage de gli Innocenti*, lib. ii. And Pope has expressed the same reverence, in his *Messiah*, where he describes the approaching Deity :

“ With heads declin'd, ye Cedars, homage pay.”

Ver. 195. *Fountains, and ye that warble, as ye flow,*] So, in an Ode of Ben Jonson's to Joh. Ashmore, in *Certaine selected Odes of Horace*, 1621, p. 23 ;

“ Or circling streames that warble, passing by.”

Milton uses the same elegant phrase, B. iii. 31.

That finging up to Heaven-gate ascend,  
 Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise.  
 Ye that in waters glide, and ye that walk 200  
 The earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep;  
 Witnefs if I be silent, morn or even,

Ver. 198. *That finging up to Heaven-gate ascend,*] The same hyperbole in Shakspeare's *Cymbeline*,

"Hark! hark! the lark at *heaven's gate* sings:"

Again, in his xxix *Sonnet*,

"Like as the lark, at break of day arising

"From fullen earth, sings hymns at *heaven's gate*."

NEWTON.

Mr. Reed is of opinion, that Shakspeare had in his mind Lyly's *Alexander and Campaspe*; for it is there said of the *lark*,

"Now at *heaven's gates* she claps her wings."

A passage may be added from P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, c. ix. st. 2.

"The cheerfull lark, mounting from early bed,

"With sweet salutes awakes the drowfie light;

"The earth she left, and *up to heaven* is fled;

"There *chants her Maker's praises* out of sight."

So Milton,

"Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise."

I find this sentiment also expressed in *An Entertainment of Solitarineffe*, by Sir Richard Tempest, 1649, p. 94. "There can in no place be wanting groves, rivers, *finging of birds*:—the *musick of the birds* without, are all God's creatures, which, as it were, in *so many diversified notes*, doe sweetly sing their *Maker's prayse*."

Ver. 202. *Witnefs if I be silent,*] Dr. Bentley thinks that Milton had forgotten that both Adam and Eve shared in this hymn, and therefore he reads "If *we* be silent," and in the

To hill, or valley, fountain, or fresh shade,  
 Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise.  
 Hail, universal Lord, be bounteous still 205  
 To give us only good; and if the night  
 Have gather'd aught of evil or conceal'd,  
 Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark!

next verse but one "by *our* song:" But Milton rather imitates here the ancient chorus, where sometimes the plural, and sometimes the singular number is used. The same is practised by our poet in the speeches of the chorus in *Samson Agonistes*, where the reader will see in every page almost that the number is thus varied. Dr. Bentley observes, that the whole hymn naturally divides itself into parts interlocutory, and that he has presumed to put it so, though not warranted by any edition. But this is not Dr. Bentley's invention; for this hymn was set to musick some years ago, and in that composition the several parts of it were assigned distinctly to Adam and Eve. I think that such interlocutory parts are by no means fit for an heroic poem.

PEARCE.

Ver. 205. ——— be bounteous still

*To give us only good;*] He had his thought, as

Dr. Bentley remarks, on that celebrated prayer in Plato,

Ζῆν βασιλεῦ τὰ μὲν ἰσθλὰ καὶ εὐχομένοις καὶ ἀνέγκλεις

"Ἄμμι δίδου τὰ δὲ λυγρὰ καὶ εὐχομένων ἀπίρυνε.

"O Jupiter, give us good things, whether we pray for them or not, and remove from us evil things, even though we pray for them." And we learn from the first book of Xenophon's memoirs of his master Socrates, that Socrates was wont to pray to the Gods only to give good things, as they knew best what things were so. Εὐχίτο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπλῶς τ' ἀγαθὰ δίδουσι, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα ἰδόντας ὑποῖα ἀγαθὰ εἶναι. And to the same purpose there is an excellent collect in our Liturgy, for the eighth Sunday after Trinity. "We humbly beseech thee to put away from us all hurtful things, and to give us those things which be profitable for us." NEWTON.



So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts  
 Firm peace recover'd soon, and wonted calm. 210  
 On to their morning's rural work they haste,  
 Among sweet dews and flowers; where any row  
 Of fruit-trees over-woody reach'd too far  
 Their pamper'd boughs, and needed hands to  
 check

Ver. 209. *So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts  
 Firm peace recover'd soon, and wonted calm.  
 On to their morning's rural work they haste, &c.]*

These verses are thus pointed in the best, that is, in Milton's own, editions: but the latter sentence begins very abruptly, *On to their morning's work &c.* Dr. Bentley therefore continuing the sentence reads thus,

“ So pray'd they innocent; and to their thoughts  
 “ Firm peace *recovering* soon and wonted calm,  
 “ On to their morning's rural work they haste &c.”

Dr. Pearce thinks the sentence sufficiently continued in the common reading, if *recover'd* be a participle of the ablative case; and conceives this to be the construction, “ *Peace and calm being recover'd to their thoughts, they haste &c.*” and accordingly points it thus,

—————“ and, to their thoughts  
 “ Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm,  
 “ On to their morning's rural work they haste.”

But perhaps the abruptness of the line

“ On to their morning's rural work they haste”

was designed the better to express the haste they were in, as they were later to-day than usual: Or perhaps with an easy alteration it may be read thus,

“ *Then* to their morning's rural work they haste.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 214. *Their pamper'd boughs,*] The propriety of this expression will best be seen by what Junius says of the etymology

Fruitless embraces : or they led the vine      215  
 To wed her elm ; she, spous'd, about him twines  
 Her marriageable arms, and with her brings  
 Her dower, the adopted clusters, to adorn  
 His barren leaves. 'Them thus employ'd beheld  
 With pity Heaven's high King, and to him call'd  
 Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deign'd      221  
 To travel with Tobias, and secur'd  
 His marriage with the seventimes-wedded maid.  
     Raphael, said he, thou hear'st what stir on  
         Earth

of *pamper* : " The French word *pamper*, of the Latin *pampinus*,  
 is a vine-branch full of leaves : And a vineyard," he observes,  
 " is said by them *pamper*, when it is over-grown with super-  
 fluous leaves and fruitless branches." NEWTON.

Ver. 216. *To wed her elm* ;] See Horace, *Epod.* ii. 9. &c.  
 Adam and Eve are very well employed in *checking fruitless em-  
 braces*, and *leading the vine to wed her elm* : That is very fitly  
 made the employment of a married couple, which is urged in  
 Ovid as an argument to marriage, *Met.* xiv. 661, &c. Virgil  
 also has the metaphor of the vine embracing the elm, *Georg.* ii.  
 367. And not only the poets, but Columella and the writers  
 of rustick affairs, frequently use the phrases of *nupta vitis*, and  
*marita ulmus*." NEWTON.

Ver. 224. *Raphael, said he, thou hear'st what stir on Earth*  
 &c.] Milton, in the following scene, seems to have had his eye  
 in a particular manner upon the ninth canto of Tasso's *Jerusalem*,  
 where God sends Michael to assist the Christians. What God  
 says here to Raphael, is expressed much after the same manner in  
 the beginning of God's speech to Michael, st. 58.

————" Non vedi hor come s' armi

" Contra la mia fedel diletta greggia

" L' empia schiera d'Averno." THYER.

Satan, from Hell 'scap'd through the darksome  
gulf,

Hath rais'd in Paradise ; and how disturb'd 225

This night the human pair ; how he designs

In them at once to ruin all mankind.

Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend

Converse with Adam, in what bower or shade 230

Thou find'st him from the heat of noon retir'd,

To respite his day-labour with repast,

Or with repose ; and such discourse bring on,

As may advise him of his happy state,

Happiness in his power left free to will, 235

Left to his own free will, his will though free,

Yet mutable ; whence warn him to beware

He swerve not, too secure : Tell him withal

His danger, and from whom ; what enemy,

Late fall'n himself from Heaven, is plotting now

The fall of others from like state of bliss ; 241

By violence ? no, for that shall be withstood ;

But by deceit and lies : This let him know,

Left, wilfully transgressing, he pretend

Surprisal, unadmonish'd, unforewarn'd. 245

So spake the Eternal Father, and fulfill'd

All justice : Nor delay'd the winged Saint

Ver. 235. *Happiness in his power left free to will,*] That is, in the power of him left free to will. NEWTON.

Ver. 247. ——— *Nor delay'd the winged Saint &c.*] It perhaps would be an entertainment to the curious reader, to compare this circumstantial description of Raphael's descent from Heaven with that of Michael in Tasso's *Gier. Lib. c. 9. st. 60,*

After his charge receiv'd ; but from among  
 Thousand celestial Ardours, where he stood  
 Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, up springing  
     light, 250  
 Flew through the midst of Heaven ; the angelick  
     quires,  
 On each hand parting, to his speed gave way  
 Through all the empyreal road ; till, at the gate  
 Of Heaven arriv'd, the gate self-open'd wide  
 On golden hinges turning, as by work 255  
 Divine the sovran Architect had fram'd.  
 From hence no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,

61, 62. They seem both to have been much laboured by their respective authors, and have each their particular beauties and defects. Milton does not in this place seem to endeavour to imitate, as he does in many others, the Italian poet, but rather to strive to rival and outdo him, and to have chosen, for that purpose, circumstances of a different sort to embellish his description. Which has succeeded best, every reader must determine for himself. THYER.

Ver. 249. *Thousand celestial Ardours,*] By the word *Ardours* here Milton only means *Seraphim*, which signifies just the same in Hebrew (being derived from *zaraph* to burn) as *Ardours* in English. The poet, I suppose, only made use of this term to diversify his language a little, as he is forced to mention the word *Seraph* and *Seraphim* in so many places. THYER.

*Ardours* is one of Dante's words for *Angels*; and perhaps Milton adopted it from him.

Ver. 255. *On golden hinges turning,*] See note, B. vii. 205.

Ver. 257. *From hence no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,  
     Star interpos'd,*] The comma after "*interpos'd,*" shows that it is here a participle in the ablative case put absolutely; and the construction is, "From hence, no cloud or star

Star interpos'd, however small he sees,  
 Not unconform to other shining globes,  
 Earth, and the garden of God, with cedars crown'd  
 Above all hills. As when by night the glass 261  
 Of Galileo, less assur'd, observes  
 Imagin'd lands and regions in the moon:  
 Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades  
 Delos or Samos first appearing, kens 265  
 A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight  
 He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky  
 Sails between worlds and worlds, with steady  
 wing  
 Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan  
 Winnows the buxom air; till, within soar 270  
 Of towering eagles, to all the fowls he seems  
 A phœnix, gaz'd by all, as that sole bird,

*being interposed to obstruct his sight, he sees, however small it is, appearing very small at that distance, the earth not unlike to other shining globes, and in it Paradise, the garden of God, that was crowned with cedars which were higher than the highest hills.* NEWTON.

Ver. 262. ————— *observes*] The glass *observes*; a poetical expression, the instrument put for the person who makes use of it. NEWTON.

Ver. 266. ————— *Down thither prone in flight &c.*] Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 253.

———“ hinc toto præceps se corpore ad undas

“ Mist, avi similes.” NEWTON.

Ver. 272. *A phœnix,*] Dr. Bentley objects to Raphael's taking *the shape of a phœnix*; and the objection would be very just if Milton had said any such thing: but he only says, that “ to all the fowls he *seems* a phœnix;” he was not really a

When, to enshrine his reliques in the Sun's  
 Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies.  
 At once on the eastern cliff of Paradise 275  
 He lights, and to his proper shape returns  
 A Seraph wing'd : Six wings he wore, to shade  
 His lineaments divine ; the pair that clad  
 Each shoulder broad, came mantling o'er his breast  
 With regal ornament ; the middle pair 280  
 Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round  
 Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold  
 And colours dipt in Heaven ; the third his feet

phœnix, the birds only fancied him one. This bird was famous among the ancients, but generally looked upon by the moderns as fabulous. The naturalists speak of it as single, or the only one of its kind ; and therefore it is called here " that *sole bird*," as it had been before by Tasso, where Armida is, in like manner, compared to a phœnix, *Gier. Lib. c. xvii. st. 35.*

" Come all'hor, che 'l rinato unico augello &c." NEWTON.

The same comparison of an angel to a phœnix, is also in Marino's *Strage de gli Innocenti*, lib. ii. st. 122.

Ver. 276. ——— and to his proper shape returns] The word *shape* here, I suppose, occasioned Dr. Bentley to say that Milton makes Raphael take the *shape* of a phœnix. But, by *re. turning to his proper shape*, Milton means only that he stood on his feet, and gathered up his wings into their proper place and situation. PEARCE.

Or, as another ingenious person expresses it, he seemed again, what he really was, *A Seraph wing'd* ; whereas in his flight he appeared, what he was not, *A phœnix*. NEWTON.

Ver. 277. ——— Six wings he wore,] The Seraphim seen by *Isaiah*, vi. 2, had the same number of wings, but differently disposed. NEWTON.

Shadow'd from either heel with feather'd mail,  
 Sky-tinctur'd grain. Like Maia's son he stood, 285  
 And shook his plumes, that heavenly fragrance  
 fill'd

Ver. 284. ————— *with feather'd mail,*

*Sky-tinctur'd grain.*] Feathers lie one sort of another, resembling the plates of metal of which coats of mail are composed. Sky-coloured, dyed in grain, to express beauty and durableness. RICHARDSON.

Pope has expanded this fine compound *sky-tinctured*, into a whole line, *Rape of the Lock*, Canto ii.

"Dipt in the richest tincture of the skies."

Ver. 285. ————— *Like Maia's son he stood, &c.*] It has been observed by Hume and Dr. Newton, that Milton, in comparing the Angel to Mercury, *Maia's son*, had in view the description of Mercury's flight and descent to the earth, *Iliad* xxiv. 339 &c. and *Æneid* iv. 238 &c. Pope has noticed the same; but without allowing that superiority to Milton which the other critics have given him; a superiority, as Hume says, like that of a seraph to a fiction. The reader may also compare, as Dr. Newton adds, this descent of Raphael with that of Gabriel in Tasso, c. i. st. 13, &c.

But, as Dr. Pearce remarks, it is the graceful posture in standing, after alighting, that is particularly compared to Mercury, *Æn.* iv. 253.

"Hic paribus primùm nitens Cyllenius alis

"*Constitit.*"

And Dr. Newton subjoins, that the idea might be first taken from the graceful attitudes of the antique statues of Mercury; but that Milton might have it more immediately from Shakspere, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. iv.

"A station, like the herald Mercury,

"New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill."

Ver. 286. *And shook his plumes, &c.*] The image of the Angel's shaking his fragrant plumes is borrowed particularly from Fairfax's *Tasso*, c. i. st. 14.

The circuit wide. Straight knew him all the  
bands

Of Angels under watch ; and to his state,  
And to his message high, in honour rise ; 289  
For on some message high they guess'd him  
bound.

Their glittering tents he pass'd, and now is come  
Into the blissful field, through groves of myrrh,  
And flowering odours, cassia, nard, and balm ;  
A wilderness of sweets ; for Nature here

“ On Lebanon at first his foot he set,

“ And shook his wings with roarie may .dews wet.”

NEWTON.

The Angel, sent to Mary, in Sannazarius, thus expands his  
wings, *De Partu Virg.* lib. i. v. 107.

————— “ *ingentes explicat alas,*

“ *Ac tectis latè infusum diffundit odorem.*”

So Pope, *Abelard and Eliza*, v. 218.

“ And wings of seraphs shed divine perfumes.”

And Collins, with remarkable elegance, has thus painted *Mirth*,  
in his Ode to the *Passions* :

“ And he, amidst his frolick play,

“ As if he would the charming air repay,

“ Shook thousand odours from his dewy wings.”

Ver. 288. ————— *and to his state,*

*And to his message high, in honour rise ;*] With  
the same respect as the Muses pay to Gallus in Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 66.

“ *Utque viro Phœbi chorus affurrexerit omnis.*”

NEWTON.

Ver. 294. ————— *Nature here*

*Wanton'd as in her prime,*] Compare Lyly's  
*Woman in the Moon*, 1597, at the beginning, where *Nature* is  
the speaker :



Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will 295  
 Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,  
 Wild above rule or art, enormous blifs.

Him through the spicy forest onward come  
 Adam discern'd, as in the door he sat  
 Of his cool bower, while now the mounted sun  
 Shot down direct his fervid rays to warm 301  
 Earth's inmost womb, more warmth than Adam  
 needs :

And Eve within, due at her hour prepar'd  
 For dinner savoury fruits, of taste to please  
 True appetite, and not difrelifh thirft 305  
 Of nectarous draughts between, from milky  
 fteam,  
 Berry or grape : To whom thus Adam call'd.

" *Nature* descends from farre above the fpheres,

" To *frisk* heere in fayre Vtopia ;

" Where *my chiefe works do flourish in their prime,*

" And *revert* in their first fimplicitie."

Ver. 297. *Wild above rule or art, enormous blifs.*] All the editions point this line with a colon or femi-colon after *art*, till that of 1727 ; from which I have here fubftituted a comma, agreeably alfo to the fuggestion of Dr. Newton ; *enormous blifs* being the accufative cafe after *pouring forth*, which blifs was the *more sweet*, as it was *wild above rule or art*. I find the paffage thus pointed alfo, in Harris's *Philological Inquiries*, P. iii. c. xiii. p. 496.

Ver. 299. ——— *as in the door he fat*] So Abraham "*fat in the tent-door, in the heat of the day*," when he was vifited by three Angels, *Gen.* xviii. 1. From that paffage our poet formed this incident. BENTLEY.

From the fame chapter the poet has alfo formed the entertainment of the Angel by Adam and Eve.

Haste hither, Eve, and worth thy sight behold  
 Eastward among those trees, what glorious shape  
 Comes this way moving; seems another morn 310  
 Ris'n on mid-noon; some great behest from  
 Heaven

To us perhaps he brings, and will vouchsafe  
 This day to be our guest. But go with speed,  
 And, what thy stores contain, bring forth, and  
 pour

Abundance, fit to honour and receive 315  
 Our heavenly stranger: Well we may afford  
 Our givers their own gifts, and large bestow  
 From large bestow'd, where Nature multiplies  
 Her fertile growth, and by disburdening grows  
 More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare. 320

Ver. 310. ————— *seems another morn*

*Ris'n on mid-noon;*] An expression probably borrowed from Marino, upon a sudden appearance of a glory much of the same kind, *Adon.* c. xi. st. 27.

“ *Ed ecco un lustrò lampeggiar d'intorno*

“ *Che sole à sole aggiunse, e giorno à giorno.*” THYER.

See the Song in Cartwright's *Ordinary*, Reed's *Old Pl.* vol. x. p. 295.

“ Whiles early light springs from the skies,

“ A fairer from your bride doth rise;

“ A brighter day doth thence appear,

“ And make a *second morning* there.”

Compare also Harington's *Polindor and Flostella*, 1651. p. 8. of Flostella's “ *disrobing herself;*”

————— “ *seeming to shoot,*

“ *New light into those shades, as though*

“ *Another Morn were rose below.*”

To whom thus Eve. Adam, earth's hallow'd  
mould,  
Of God inspir'd ! small store will serve, where  
store,

All seasons, ripe for use hangs on the stalk ;  
Save what by frugal storing firmness gains  
To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes : 325  
But I will haste, and from each bough and brake,  
Each plant and juiciest gourd, will pluck such  
choice

To entertain our Angel-guest, as he  
Beholding shall confess, that here on Earth  
God hath dispens'd his bounties as in Heaven. 330

So saying, with despatchful looks in haste  
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent

Ver. 325. ——— and *superfluous moist consumes* :] This is rather too philosophical for the female character of Eve : And, in my opinion, one of Milton's greatest faults, is his introducing inconsistencies in the characters both of Angels and Man, by mixing too much with them his own philosophical notions.

THEY ER.

Ver. 326. ——— and from each *bough* and brake,

*Each plant and juicy gourd*,] Dr. Bentley would read *branch* instead of *brake*, thinking that provisions are not to be gathered from brakes : but *bough*, *brake*, *plant*, and *gourd*, express here all the several kinds of things which produce fruits. The *bough* belongs to fruit trees ; the *plant* is such as that which produces strawberries &c. ; the *gourd* includes all kinds that lie on the earth ; and the *brake* is the species between trees and plants ; of this sort are (I think) the bushes which yield currants, blackberries, gooseberries, raspberries, &c. But if we read with the Doctor *branch*, it will be a superfluous word, because of *bough* which preceded it. PEARCE.

What choice to choofe for delicacy beft,  
 What order, fo contriv'd as not to mix  
 Taftes, not well join'd, inelegant, but bring 335  
 Taftes after taftes upheld with kindlieft change;  
 Befirs her then, and from each tender flalk  
 Whatever Earth, all-bearing mother, yields  
 In India Eaft or Weft, or middle fhore  
 In Pontus or the Punick coaft, or where 340  
 Alcinous reign'd, fruit of all kinds, in coat  
 Rough, or fmooth rind, or bearded hufk, or fhell,  
 She gathers, tribute large, and on the board  
 Heaps with unfparing hand; for drink the grape

Ver. 333. *What choice to choofe*] This fort of jingle is very uſual in Milton, as to *more motion*, B. viii. 130. *thoughts miſ-thought*, B. ix. 289. *finn'd fin*, B. xi. 427. And it is not unuſual in the beſt claſſick authors, as in Terence, *Andr.* v. 8.

“ Nam hunc ſcio mea folide ſolum garrulorum gaudia :”  
 and in Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 680.

“ —hunc, oro, ſine me ſuave ante ſuavem :”  
 and many more inſtances might be given. NEWTON.

Ver. 338. *Whatever Earth, all-bearing mother, yields*] So the Greeks call her Παμμήτωρ γη, and the Latins Omniparens.

NEWTON.

Ver. 339. ——— or middle ſhore &c.] Or on the borders of the Mediterranean; in *Pontus*, part of Aſia, or the *Punick coaſt*, part of Africa, or where *Alcinous reign'd*, in a Grecian iſland in the Ionian ſea (now the gulf of Venice) anciently called Phæacia, then Corcyra, now Corfu. The ſoil is fruitful in oil, wine, and moſt excellent fruits, and its owner is made famous for his gardens celebrated by Homer. HUMER.

Ver. 344. ——— for drink the grape  
*She cruſhes, inſtead of muſt,*] By the word *in-*  
*effenſive* Milton intends to hint at the later invention of ferment-

She crushes, inoffensive must, and meaths 345  
 From many a berry, and from sweet kernels  
 prefs'd

She tempers dulcet creams; nor these to hold  
 Wants her fit vessels pure; then strows the ground  
 With rose and odours from the shrub unfum'd.

Mean while our primitive great fire, to meet  
 His God-like guest, walks forth, without more  
 train 351

Accompanied than with his own complete  
 Perfections; in himself was all his state,  
 More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits  
 On princes, when their rich retinue long 355  
 Of horses led, and grooms besmear'd with gold,

ing the juice of the grape, and thereby giving it an intoxicating  
 quality. This he would say was not the wine of Paradise.

THYER.

Ver. 345. ———— *and meaths*] Sweet drinks like  
 mead. A word used by Chaucer, and perhaps derived from  
 μέθυ. NEWTON.

Ver. 349. ———— *from the shrub unfum'd.*] That is,  
 not burnt and exhaling smoke as in fumigations, but with its  
 natural scent. HEYLIN.

Ver. 351. ———— *without more train*  
*Accompanied than with his own &c.*] *Without*  
*more than with* is a solecism. It should be "*without more*  
*train than his own complete perfections,*" *with* being expunged.  
 But he gave it "*with no more train than with &c.*" BENTLEY.

Ver. 356. ———— *besmear'd with gold,*] Horace's  
 "*aurum vestibus illitum,*" *Od.* iv. ix. 14. comes nearest to it.

HUME.

Virgil has used a like expression, *Æn.* x. 314.

"*Per tunicam squallentem auro.*" RICHARDSON.

Dazzles the croud, and sets them all agape.  
 Nearer his presence Adam, though not aw'd,  
 Yet with submissive approach and reverence meek,  
 As to a superiour nature bowing low, 360  
 Thus said. Native of Heaven, for other place  
 None can than Heaven such glorious shape contain ;

Since, by descending from the thrones above,  
 Those happy places thou hast deign'd a while  
 To want, and honour these, vouchsafe with us 365  
 Two only, who yet by sovran gift possess  
 This spacious ground, in yonder shady bower  
 To rest ; and what the garden choicest bears  
 To sit and taste, till this meridian heat  
 Be over, and the sun more cool decline. 370

Whom thus the angelick Virtue answer'd mild.

Ver. 357. *Dazzles the croud, and sets them all agape.*] Virgil,  
*Georg.* ii. 463.

“ Nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postes.” JORTIN.

Ver. 361. ——— *Native of Heaven, for other place*  
*None can than Heaven such glorious shape contain ;]*

Milton, in the turn of these words, very plainly alludes to what  
 Æneas says to Venus in the first *Æneid*, ver. 327.

“ O, quam te memorem, Virgo ? namque haud tibi vultus

“ Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat ; O Dea certe.”

THYER.

Ver. 369. *To sit and taste,*] See Dr. Pearce's note, B. ii. 917.

Ver. 371. *Whom thus the angelick Virtue]* The *angel*: Thus  
 Homer uses Πριάμοιο βίην, *the strength of Priam*, for Priam himself,  
*Il.* iii. 105 ; and Ἑκτορος μίος for  *Hector*, *Il.* xiv. 418. And  
*Od.* vii. 167.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἱερὸν μίος Ἀλκινόοιο,

Adam, I therefore came; nor art thou such  
 Created, or such place hast here to dwell,  
 As may not oft invite, though Spirits of Heaven,  
 To visit thee; lead on then where thy bower 375  
 O'er shades; for these mid-hours, till evening rise,  
 I have at will. So to the sylvan lodge  
 They came, that like Pomona's arbour smil'd,  
 With flowerets deck'd, and fragrant smells; but  
 Eve,  
 Undeck'd save with herself, more lovely fair 380  
 Than Wood-Nymph, or the fairest Goddess  
 feign'd

"After the sacred strength of Alcinous had heard that." Imitated twice by Virgil, *odora canum vis* for *diis*, *Æn.* iv. 132: *Vimque Deum infernam*, the infernal deities, *Æn.* xii. 149.

HUME.

Ver. 378. ————— *Pomona's arbour*] The Goddess of fruit-trees might well be supposed to have a delightful arbour, but that could not be more delightful in imagination, than this was in reality. See Ovid. *Met.* xiv. 623, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 380. *Undeck'd save with herself,*] This is *simplex munditiis* indeed, beyond Horace's, and makes an excellent contrast to Ovid's description of the fine lady full dress'd,

———— "pars minima est ipsa puella sui."

It calls to mind that memorable saying, "Induitur, formosa est; exuitur, ipsa forma est." *Dress'd, she is beautiful; undress'd, she is beauty itself.* With the same elegance of expression, describing Adam, he has said,

———— "in himself was all his state." NEWTON.

Ver. 381. ————— *or the fairest Goddess feign'd*  
*Of thee &c.*] He alludes to the contest for beauty, the "*certamina Dearum*" of Ovid, between Venus, Juno, and

Of three that in mount Ida naked strove,  
 Stood to entertain her guest from Heaven; no veil  
 She needed, virtue-proof; no thought infirm  
 Alter'd her cheek. On whom the Angel *Hail* 385  
 Bestow'd, the holy salutation us'd  
 Long after to blest Mary, second Eve.

Hail, Mother of Mankind, whose fruitful  
 womb  
 Shall fill the world more numerous with thy sons,  
 Than with these various fruits the trees of God  
 Have heap'd this table.—Rais'd of grassy turf 391  
 Their table was, and mossy seats had round,  
 And on her ample square from side to side  
 All autumn pil'd, though spring and autumn here

Minerva. The turn of the expression is not unlike Drummond's description of a beautiful virgin, *Poems* 1616. Part second.

"No *Deitie fain'd*, which haunts the silent woods,  
 "Is like to her, &c."

Ver. 384. ———— *virtue-proof*;] *Proof* is used in the old poets for armour, Shakspeare, *Rom. and Jul.* A. i.

"And, in strong *proof* of chastity well arm'd,  
 "From love's weak childish bow she lives unharm'd."

NEWTON.

Ver. 387. ———— *to blest Mary, second Eve.*] See *Luke* i. 28. She is called *second Eve*, as Christ is sometimes called *second Adam*. NEWTON.

Ver. 394. *All autumn pil'd*,] The table had mossy seats round it, and all autumn pil'd upon it, that is, the fruits of autumn. So in Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 5.

——— "pampineo gravidus autumnno  
 "Floret ager."



Danc'd hand in hand. A while discourse they  
hold ; 395

No fear left dinner cool ; when thus began  
Our author. Heavenly stranger, please to taste  
These bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom  
All perfect good, unmeasur'd out, descends,  
To us for food and for delight hath caus'd 400  
The earth to yield ; unfavoury food perhaps  
To spiritual natures ; only this I know,  
That one celestial Father gives to all.

To whom the Angel. Therefore what he gives  
(Whose praise be ever sung) to Man in part 405  
Spiritual, may of purest Spirits be found  
No ingratful food : And food alike those pure  
Intelligential substances require,  
As doth your rational ; and both contain  
Within them every lower faculty 410

It may be observed here (as Dr. Greenwood adds) that when Milton introduces any thing that might give occasion to a captious critick to inquire how Adam could be furnished with such utensils in his first state ; he has always the caution so to explain himself as to prevent any mistake. Thus when he has mentioned the *table*, he tells us it was *rais'd of grassy turf*. A little above, ver. 348, where he says Eve *wanted not fit vessels*, he takes no farther notice of them there, because the reader was prepared to understand it by a passage in B. iv. 335.

——— “ and in the rind,

“ Still as they thirsted, scoop the brimming stream.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 407. *N: ingratful food :*] There being mention made in Scripture of *Angels food*, *Psal. lxxviii. 25* ; that is foundation enough for a poet to build upon, and to advance these notions of the Angels eating. NEWTON.

Offense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,  
 Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,  
 And corporeal to incorporeal turn.  
 For know, whatever was created, needs  
 To be sustain'd and fed : Of elements 415

Ver. 415. ————— of elements &c.] Dr. Bentley is for omitting here eleven lines together, but we cannot agree with him in thinking them the editor's, though we entirely agree with him in wishing, that the author had taken more care what notions of philosophy he had put into the mouth of an Arch-Angel. It is certainly a great mistake to attribute the *spots* in the moon, (which are owing to the inequalities of her surface, and to the different nature of her constituent parts, land and water) to attribute them, I say, to *vapours not yet turn'd into her substance*. It is certainly very *unphilosophical* to say that the sun *sups with the ocean*, but it is not *unpoetical*. And whatever other faults are found in these lines, they are not so properly the faults of Milton, as of his times, and of those systems of philosophy which he had learned in his younger years. If he had written after the late discoveries and improvements in science, he would have written in another manner. It is allowed by all philosophers, that the sun and fixed stars receive their supplies of nourishment ; but in what manner they are fed and supplied is a great question : And surely a greater latitude and liberty may be indulged to a poet in speaking of these things, than to a philosopher. The same kind of thought runs through the nineteenth ode of Anacreon, to which the poet might allude, but more particularly to that passage in Pliny, where the same account is given of the spots in the moon. "*Sidera vero haud dubie humore terreno pasci, quia orbe dimidio nonnunquam maculosa cernatur, scilicet nondum suppetente ad hauriendum ultra iusta vi : maculas enim non aliud esse quam terræ raptas cum humore fordes.*" Lib. 2. cap. 9. NEWTON.

The reader may also refer to a passage in *Macbeth* :

" Upon the corner of the *moon*

" There hangs a *vaporous* drop profound."

The grosser feeds the purer, earth the sea,  
 Earth and the sea feed air, the air those fires  
 Ethereal, and as lowest first the moon;  
 Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurg'd  
 Vapours not yet into her substance turn'd. 420  
 Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale  
 From her moist continent to higher orbs.  
 The sun, that light imparts to all, receives  
 From all his alimental recompence  
 In humid exhalations, and at even 425  
 Sups with the Ocean. Though in Heaven the  
 trees  
 Of life ambrosial fruitage bear, and vines  
 Yield nectar; though from off the boughs each  
 morn  
 We brush mellifluous dews, and find the ground

Ver. 421. *Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale*] A Latinism. So Virg. *Georg.* i. 83.

“Nec nulla interea est inarata gratia terræ.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 422. *From her moist continent*] The moon is called in *Hamlet*, A. i. S. i. “the moist star.” And in Randolph’s *Poems*, 1640. p. 49.

— “The *Moon* though moist and cold she be.”

Ver. 425. ———— *and at even*

*Sups with the Ocean.*] So, in Lovelace’s *Posthumous Poems*, 1659. p. 15. “The Sun *sups* in the Deep.”

Ver. 426. ———— *Though in Heaven the trees &c.*] In mentioning *trees of life* and *vines* in Heaven, he is justified by Scripture. See *Matt.* xxvi. 29. and *Rev.* xxii. 2. NEWTON.

Cover'd with pearly grain : Yet God hath here  
 Varied his bounty so with new delights, 431  
 As may compare with Heaven ; and to taste  
 Think not I shall be nice. So down they sat,  
 And to their viands fell ; nor seemingly  
 The Angel, nor in mist, the common gloss 435  
 Of Theologians ; but with keen despatch

Ver. 430. *Cover'd with pearly grain :*] The same beautiful metaphor, as before :

“ Now Morn, her rosy steps in the eastern dune  
 “ Advancing, *cover'd* the earth with orient pearl.”

Ver. 435. ————— *the common gloss*

*Of Theologians ;*] The usual comment and exposition of divines. For, several of the Fathers, and ancient Doctors were of opinion, that the Angels did not really eat, but only seemed to do so ; and they ground that opinion principally upon what the Angel Raphael says in the book of Tobit, xii. 19. “ *All these days did I appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a vision.*” But our author was of the contrary opinion, that the Angel did not eat in appearance only but in reality, *with keen despatch of real hunger* as he says ; and this opinion is confirmed by the accounts in the Canonical Scripture of Abraham's entertaining three Angels at one time, and Lot's entertaining two Angels at another. See *Gen.* xviii. and xix. There it is said plainly that meat was set before them, *and they did eat* ; and there is no reason for not understanding this, as well as the rest of the relation, literally.

*Of Theologians ;* this same word he uses in his *Tetrachordon*, p. 223. vol. i. ed. 1738. NEWTON.

In Heywood's *Hierarchy of Angels*, 1635, p. 200, it is said of the Angels ;

“ In visible form they likewise have appear'd,  
 “ Been seen to walke, to eat, to drinke, &c.”

Of real hunger, and concoctive heat  
 To transubstantiate: What redounds, transpires  
 Through Spirits with ease; nor wonder; if by fire  
 Of footy coal the empirick alchemist 440  
 Can turn, or holds it possible to turn,  
 Metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold,  
 As from the mine. Mean while at table Eve  
 Minister'd naked, and their flowing cups  
 With pleasant liquours crown'd: O innocence 445  
 Deserving Paradise! if ever, then,  
 Then had the sons of God excuse to have been  
 Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts

But, in the same page, the assertion is qualified, according to  
*the common gloss of Theologians*: of the Angels with Abraham,

————— “ they *draake* with him, and *eat*,  
 “ At least, *unto his seeming*, tasted meat.”

See also note on *Comus*, v. 16.

Ver. 445. *With pleasant liquours crown'd*:] *To crown their cups*, was a phrase among the Greeks and Romans for filling them above the brim, but yet not so as to run over. Thus it is used by Homer, *Iliad* i. 470.

Κύποι μὲν χρυτῆρας ἐπισέψαντο ποταῖο.

and by Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 528.

————— “ et socii cratera coronant.” NEWTON.

Ver. 446. ————— *if ever*, then,

Then had the Sons of God excuse &c.] The doubling of *then* adds great force and emphasis. The allusion is to *Gen.* vi. 2. See note on B. iii. 463. NEWTON.

Some of the Rabbins say, Eve was so beautiful, that the prince of Angels fell in love with her, which occasioned his fall.

UPTON.

Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousy  
Was understood, the injur'd lover's hell. 450

Thus when with meats and drinks they had  
suffic'd,

Not burden'd nature, sudden mind arose  
In Adam, not to let the occasion pass  
Given him by this great conference to know  
Of things above his world, and of their being 455  
Who dwell in Heaven, whose excellence he saw  
Transcend his own so far; whose radiant forms,  
Divine effulgence, whose high power, so far  
Exceeded human; and his wary speech  
Thus to the empyreal minister he fram'd. 460

Inhabitant with God, now know I well  
Thy favour, in this honour done to Man;

Ver. 451. *Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,*  
*Not burden'd nature,*] Homer, *Iliad* i. 469.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πρὸς πόσιος καὶ ἰδρυτός ἐξ ἵππου ἔτρε.

And Virgil, *Æn.* i. 216.

“ Postquam exempta fames epulis, mensæque remota.”

Milton says the same thing, but at the same time insinuates a fine moral of the true end of eating and drinking, which is to satisfy, but not to burden, nature; and this sort of temperance he not only recommends, as in the beginning of this book, and in B. xi. 530, &c. but remarkably practised himself. NEWTON.

Ver. 455. *Of things above his world,*] Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley, have corrupted the text, by reading “above *this* world.”

Ver. 456. ———— *whose excellence*] *Excellence* is a general word; and Milton branches the *excellence* of Angels into two particulars; their *radiant forms* (which were the effulgence of the Deity), and their *high power*. PEARCE.

Under whose lowly roof thou hast vouchsaf'd  
 To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste,  
 Food not of Angels, yet accepted so, 465  
 As that more willingly thou couldst not seem  
 At Heaven's high seats to have fed: yet what  
 compare?

To whom the winged Hierarch replied.  
 O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom  
 All things proceed, and up to him return, 470  
 If not deprav'd from good, created all  
 Such to perfection, one first matter all,  
 Endued with various forms, various degrees  
 Of substance, and, in things that live, of life;  
 But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure, 475

Ver. 467. ————— *yet what compare?* ] *His speech*  
*was wary*; and he was afraid to ask the Angel directly of the  
 different conditions of Men and Angels; but yet intimates his  
 desire to know by questioning whether there was any comparison  
 between them. NEWTON.

I would have it observed in what a beautiful manner Milton  
 brings on the execution of those orders, which Raphael had re-  
 ceived from God. To avoid all appearance of harshness or abrupt-  
 ness, which might have seemed, if the Angel had immediately  
 entered upon his errand, the poet makes use of Adam's curiosity  
 to introduce the subject, and puts such wary and modest questions  
 into his mouth, as naturally led to those high matters, upon  
 which the other was commissioned to discourse to him.

GREENWOOD.

Ver. 471. ————— *created all &c.* ] See *Wisdom* i. 14.

Ver. 475. *But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure,*  
*As nearer to him plac'd, or nearer tending &c.* ] So  
 Spenser, in his *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty*, speaking of the earth,  
 the air, and above that the pure crystalline,

As nearer to him plac'd, or nearer tending  
 Each in their several active spheres assign'd,  
 Till body up to spirit work, in bounds  
 Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root  
 Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the  
 leaves 480

More aery, last the bright consummate flower  
 Spirits odorous breathes : flowers and their fruit,

“ By view whereof it plainly may appear,  
 “ That still as every thing doth upward tend,  
 “ And farther is from earth, so still more clear  
 “ And fair it grows &c.” THYER.

Ver. 478. *Till body up to spirit work, &c.*] Our author should have considered things better; for, by attributing his own false notions in philosophy to an Arch-Angel, he has really lessened the character, which he intended to raise. He is as much mistaken here in his metaphysics, as he was before in his physics. This notion of matter refining into spirit is by no means observing the *bounds proportion'd to each kind*. I suppose, he meant it as a comment on the doctrine of a natural body changed into a spiritual body, as in 1. Cor. xv. and perhaps borrowed it from some of his systems of divinity. For Milton, as he was too much of a materialist in his philosophy, so he was too much of a systematist in his divinity. NEWTON.

Ver. 482. *Spirits odorous*] We must take notice in reading this verse, that *Spirits* is here a word of *two* syllables, though it is often contracted into *one*, or pronounced as two short ones, and particularly in the second line after this

“ To vital *spirits* aspire ;”

and the second syllable in *odorous* is to be pronounced long, though the poet makes it short in other places, as in B. iv. 166. But these are not the only instances, where Milton makes use of this same poetical licence. NEWTON.



Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd,  
 To vital spirits aspire, to animal,  
 To intellectual ; give both life and sense, 485  
 Fancy and understanding ; whence the soul  
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,  
 Discursive, or intuitive ; discourse  
 Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,  
 Differing but in degree, of kind the same. 490  
 Wonder not then, what God for you saw good  
 If I refuse not, but convert, as you,  
 To proper substance. Time may come, when  
 Men

With Angels may participate, and find  
 No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare ; 495  
 And from these corporal nutriments perhaps  
 Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,  
 Improv'd by tract of time, and, wing'd, ascend  
 Ethereal, as we ; or may, at choice,

\* *Olorous* is pronounced with the same accent in *the Slaughter of the Innocents*, translated by T. R. 1675, p. 60.

“ The hills, and dales, that plants *odorous* bare.”

Ver. 498. ————— and, wing'd, ascend

*Ethereal, as we,*] It is the doctrine of the ablest Divines and primitive Fathers of the Catholick church, that, if Adam had not sinned, he would never have died, but would have been translated from Earth to Heaven ; and this doctrine the reader may see illustrated in the learned Bishop Bull's discourse *Of the state of man before the fall*. Our author no doubt was very well acquainted with the sense of antiquity in this particular ; and, admitting the notion, what he says is poetical at least, if you will not allow it to be probable and rational.

NEWTON.

Here or in heavenly Paradises dwell ; 500  
 If ye be found obedient, and retain  
 Unalterably firm his love entire,  
 Whose progeny you are. Mean while enjoy  
 Your fill what happiness this happy state  
 Can comprehend, incapable of more. 505  
 To whom the patriarch of mankind replied.  
 O favourable Spirit, propitious guest,  
 Well hast thou taught the way that might direct  
 Our knowledge, and the scale of nature set  
 From center to circumference ; whereon, 510  
 In contemplation of created things,  
 By steps we may ascend to God. But say,

Ver. 503. *Whose progeny you are.*] From St. Paul, *Acts*  
*viii. 28.* " *For we are also his offspring;*" who took it from  
 Aratus, *Τὸ θεὸς καὶ γένος ἑσμίν.* NEWTON.

Ver. 504. *Your fill what happiness]* Your fill of what hap-  
 piness, or *to* your fill what happiness. NEWTON.

Ver. 509. ———— *and the scale of nature set*  
*From center to circumference,*] The scale or ladder  
 of nature ascends by steps from a point, a center, to the whole  
 circumference of what mankind can see or comprehend. The  
 metaphor is bold and vastly expressive. *Matter, one first matter,*  
 is this center; nature infinitely diversified is the scale which  
 reaches to the utmost of our conceptions, all round. We are  
 thus led to God; whose circumference *who can tell?* " *Un-  
 circumsc'rib'd he fills infinitude,*" B. vii. 170. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 512. *By steps we may ascend to God.*] There is a real  
 visible ladder (besides that visionary one of Jacob) whose foot,  
 though placed on the earth among the lowest of the creation, yet  
 leads us *by steps, in contemplation of created things,* up to God,  
 the invisible Creator of all things. HUME.

What meant that caution join'd, *If ye be found  
Obedient?* Can we want obedience then  
To him, or possibly his love desert, 515  
Who form'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here  
Full to the utmost measure of what bliss  
Human desires can seek or apprehend?

To whom the Angel. Son of Heaven and Earth,  
Attend: That thou art happy, owe to God; 520  
That thou continuest such, owe to thyself,  
That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.  
This was that caution given thee; be advis'd.  
God made thee perfect, not immutable;  
And good he made thee, but to persevere 525  
He left it in thy power; ordain'd thy will  
By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate  
Inextricable, or strict necessity:

Milton here very clearly alludes to the Platonick philosophy of rising gradually from the consideration of particular created beauty to that which is universal and uncreated. THYER.

Ver. 520. *Attend: &c.*] The sentences here are very short, as every thing ought to be in the preceptive way. "*Quicquid præcipis, esto brevis,*" is the rule of Horace, *De Arte Poet.* 335. And this brevity in the preceptive, as it is agreeable to Horace's rule, so likewise to his practice, as particularly in that string of precepts, *Epist.* I. ii. 55. "*Sperne voluptates, &c.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 526. ————— *ordain'd thy will*

*By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate*

*Inextricable, or strict necessity:*] Sir John Davies,

*Nigra te ipsum*, p. 36. ed. 1608.

"If by his word he had the current stayd

"Of Adam's will, which was *by nature free*,

"It had bene one, as if his word had sayd,

"I will henceforth, that *Man no man shall be.*"

Our voluntary service he requires,  
 Not our necessitated ; such with him 530  
 Finds no acceptance, nor can find ; for how  
 Can hearts, not free, be tried whether they serve  
 Willing or no, who will but what they must  
 By destiny, and can no other choose ?  
 Myself, and all the angelick host, that stand 535  
 In sight of God, enthron'd, our happy state  
 Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds ;  
 On other surety none : Freely we serve,  
 Because we freely love, as in our will  
 To love or not ; in this we stand or fall : 540  
 And some are fall'n, to disobedience fall'n,  
 And so from Heaven to deepest Hell ; O fall  
 From what high state of blifs, into what woe !

To whom our great progenitor. Thy words  
 Attentive, and with more delighted ear, 545  
 Divine instructor, I have heard, than when  
 Cherubick songs by night from neighbouring hills  
 Aëreal musick send : Nor knew I not

Ver. 546. ————— *than when*

*Cherubick songs &c.*] Adam had mentioned these  
 nightly songs of the Angels with pleasure in B. iv. 680, &c.  
 But still he prefers the conversation of the Angel, and thinks  
 discourse more sweet,

“ For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 548. ————— *nor knew I not*

*To be both will and deed created free ;*] Nor was  
 it unknown to me that my will and actions are free. I knew I  
 was free. Two negatives make an affirmative. RICHARDSON.

To be both will and deed created free ;  
 Yet that we never shall forget to love 550  
 Our Maker, and obey him whose command  
 Single is yet so just, my constant thoughts  
 Assur'd me, and still assure : Though what thou  
 tell'st  
 Hath pass'd in Heaven, some doubt within me  
 move,  
 But more desire to hear, if thou consent, 555  
 The full relation, which must needs be strange,  
 Worthy of sacred silence to be heard ;  
 And we have yet large day, for scarce the sun  
 Hath finish'd half his journey, and scarce begins  
 His other half in the great zone of Heaven. 560  
 Thus Adam made request ; and Raphaël,  
 After short pause assenting, thus began.  
 High matter thou enjoin'st me, O prime of  
 men,

Ver. 551. ———— *whose command*

*Single is yet so just,*] That is, the command not to eat of the forbidden tree, the only command given to man. It is spoken of much in the same manner, B. iv. 419, and again v. 452. And this command, though *single*, and therefore on that account to be obeyed, is yet so just, that it lays a farther obligation upon our obedience. NEWTON.

Ver. 557. *Worthy of sacred silence to be heard ;*] Worthy of religious silence, such as was required at the sacrifices, and other religious ceremonies, of the ancients ; alluding to that of Horace, *Od. ii. xiii. 29, 30.*

“ *Utrumque sacro digna silentio*

“ *Mirantur umbræ dicere.*” RICHARDSON.

Ver. 563. *High matter thou enjoin'st me, O prime of men,*  
*Sad task and hard : &c.]* It is customary with the

Sad task and hard : For how shall I relate  
 To human sense the invisible exploits 565  
 Of warring Spirits ? how, without remorse,  
 The ruin of so many glorious once  
 And perfect while they stood ? how last unfold  
 The secrets of another world, perhaps  
 Not lawful to reveal ? yet for thy good 570  
 This is dispens'd ; and what surmounts the reach  
 Of human sense, I shall delineate so,  
 By likening spiritual to corporal forms,  
 As may express them best ; though what if Earth

quick poets to introduce, by way of episode and narration, the principal events, which happened before the action of the poem commences : And as Homer's Ulysses relates his adventures to Alcinous, and as Virgil's Æneas recounts the history of the siege of Troy and of his own travels to Dido ; so the Angel relates to Adam the fall of Angels and the creation of the world ; and begins his narration of the fall of Angels, much in the same manner as Æneas does his account of the destruction of Troy, Virg. *Æn.* ii. 3.

“ Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem.” NEWTON.

Ver. 574. ———— *though what if Earth &c.*] In order to make Adam comprehend these things, the Angel tells him that he must *liken spiritual to corporal forms*, and questions whether there is not a greater similitude and resemblance between things in Heaven and things in Earth than is generally imagined, which is suggested very artfully, as it is indeed the best apology that could be made for those bold figures, which Milton has employed ; and especially in his description of the battles of the Angels. To the same purpose says Mr. Mede, *Discourse* x. “ If the visible things of God may be learned, as St. Paul says, from the creation of the world, why may not the invisible and intelligible world be learned from the fabrick of the visible ? the one (it may be) being the pattern of the other.” NEWTON.

Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein  
Each to other like, more than on earth is  
thought? 576

As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild  
Reign'd where these Heavens now roll, where  
Earth now rests

Upon her center pois'd; when on a day  
(For time, though in eternity, applied 589  
To motion, measures all things durable  
By present, past, and future,) on such day  
As Heaven's great year brings forth, the empy-  
real host

Ver. 579. *Upon her center pois'd*;] "*Ponderibus librata  
fuit*," as Ovid says, *Met.* i. 13. Or as Milton elsewhere  
expresses it, B. vii. 242.

"And Earth self-balanc'd on her center hung,"

NEWTON.

Ver. 583. *As Heaven's great year*] Our poet seems to have  
had Plato's great year in his thoughts.

"Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo."

Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 5.

"—Et incipient magni procedere menses."

*Ecl.* iv. 12. HUME.

Plato's great year of the Heavens, is the revolution of all the  
spheres. Every thing returns to where it set out when their  
motion first began. See Auson. *Idyl.* xviii. 15. A proper time  
for the declaration of the vicegerency of the Son of God.  
Milton has the same thought for the birth of the Angels  
(ver. 861.) imagining such kind of revolutions long before the  
Angels or the worlds were in being. So far back into eternity  
did the vast mind of this poet carry him. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. — *the empyreal host*] We read of such a divine  
assembly in *Job* i. 6. "Now there was a day when the sons of

Of Angels by imperial summons call'd,  
 Innumerable before the Almighty's throne 585  
 Forthwith, from all the ends of Heaven, appear'd  
 Under their Hierarchs in orders bright :  
 Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanc'd,  
 Standards and gonfalons 'twixt van and rear  
 Stream in the air, and for distinction serve 590  
 Of hierarchies, of Orders, and degrees ;  
 Or in their glittering tiffues bear imblaz'd  
 Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love  
 Recorded eminent. Thus when in orbs  
 Of circuit inexpressible they stood, 595  
 Orb within orb, the Father Infinite,  
 By whom in blifs imbosom'd sat the Son,  
 Amidst as from a flaming mount, whose top

God came to present themselves before the Lord." And again,  
*1 Kings* xxii. 19. This was enough to furnish the hint to  
 Milton. NEWTON.

Ver. 589. *Standards and gonfalons*] *Ensigns or banners*.  
 Milton introduced the word *gonfalon* into our language from the  
 Italian ; it being the name of the Pope's standard. In Chaucer,  
 a *flag* or *streamer* is called *gonfanoun*, *Rom. Rose*, 1201, 2018.

Ver. 598. *Amidst as from a flaming mount, &c.*] This idea  
 seems to be taken from the divine presence in the mount, *Exod.*  
 xix, when God gave his commandments to the children of Israel,  
 as here he is giving his great command concerning the Messiah  
 in Heaven. NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *whose top*

*Brightness had made invisible,*] The same just and yet  
 bold thought with that in B. iii. 380.

"Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear."

See the note on that verse, THYER.



Brightness had made invilible, thus spake.

Hear, all ye Angels, progeny of light, 600  
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues,  
Powers,

Hear my decree, which unrevok'd shall stand.

This day I have begot whom I declare

My only Son, and on this holy hill

Him have anointed, whom ye now behold 605

At my right hand; your head I him appoint;

And by myself have sworn, to him shall bow

All knees in Heaven, and shall confess him Lord:

Under his great vice-gerent reign abide

United, as one individual soul, 610

For ever happy: Him who disobey's,

Me disobey's, breaks union, and that day,

Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls

Into utter darkness, deep ingulf'd, his place

Ordain'd without redemption, without end. 615

So spake the Omnipotent, and with his words  
All seem'd well pleas'd; all seem'd, but were  
not all.

Ver. 602. *Hear my decree*, &c.] We observed before, that Milton was very cautious what sentiments and language he ascribed to the Almighty, and generally confined himself to the phrases and expressions of Scripture; and in this particular speech the reader will easily remark how much of it is copied from Holy Writ, by comparing it with the following texts: *Psalms* ii. 6, 7. *Gen.* xxii. 16. *Phil.* ii. 10, 11. NEWTON.

The opening of the speech has a more particular reference, I conceive, to *Heb.* i. 5. "When he bringeth in the *First-begotten* into the world, he saith, And let all the Angels of God worship him."

That day, as other solemn days, they spent  
 In song and dance about the sacred hill ;  
 Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere 620  
 Of planets, and of fix'd, in all her wheels  
 Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,  
 Eccentrick, intervold, yet regular

Ver. 620. *Mystical daver, &c.*] Strange mysterious motions, which the shining sphere of the planets and fixed stars, in their various revolutions, imitates nearest; windings and turnings entangled and obscure, involving and surrounding one another, although not moving on the same center, yet then most regular and orderly, when to our weak and distant understanding they seem most irregular and disturbed. Fairfax's *Tasso*, c. ix. st. 6.

"And those *untidely* errant cill'd, I know,

"Since He eris not, who doth them guide and move."

And Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 25. "Altra tum ea quæ sunt infixa certis locis, tum illa non re, sed *vocabulo*, errantia, &c."

And in their motions such divine perfection appears, and their harmonious perfection so tunes her charming notes, that God himself, pleased and delighted, pronounced them good, *Gen.* i. 18.

There is a text in *Job xxxviii.* 37, which seems to favour the opinion of the Pythagoreans, concerning the musical motion of the spheres; though our translation differs therein from other versions. "Concentum cæli quis dormire faciet?" *Who shall lay asleep, or still, the concert of the Heaven?* But this is to be understood metaphorically, of the wonderful proportions observed by the heavenly bodies in their various motions. HUME.

Compare Philo Judæus, vol. i. 625, ed. Mangey. 'Ο δὲ ἡρατὸς αἰὶ μὲλῳδῷ, κατὰ τὰς κινήσεις τῶν ὕψτων ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ πᾶσι μῦσῳ ἀρμονίαν ἀποτιλεῖ.

Ver. 623. ——— yet regular

*Then most, when most irregular they seem;*] Hence

the admired construction of a beautiful passage in Thomson's *Autumn* :

—————"Loveliness

"Needs not the foreign aid of ornament,

"But is, when unadorn'd, adorn'd the most."

Then most, when most irregular they seem;  
 And in their motions harmony divine 625  
 So smooths her charming tones, that God's own  
 ear

Listens delighted. Evening now approach'd,  
 (For we have also our evening and our morn,  
 We ours for change delectable, not need;)   
 Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn  
 Desirous; all in circles as they stood, 631  
 Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd  
 With Angels food, and rubied nectar flows  
 In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,  
 Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of Heaven.  
 On flowers repos'd, and with fresh flowerets  
 crown'd, 636  
 They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet

Ver. 633. ——— rubied nectar] Nectar of the colour of rubies; Homer's *ρίκταρ ὑψίστην*, *Iliad* xix. 38. NEWTON.

See note on *Samson Agonistes*, v. 543.

Ver. 637. *They eat, they drink, &c.*] In the first edition it was thus,

“ They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet  
 “ Are fill'd, before the all-bounteous King, &c.”

In the second edition the author altered it and added as follows,

“ They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet  
 “ Quaff immortality and joy, secure  
 “ Of surfeit where full measure only bounds  
 “ Excess, before the all-bounteous King, &c.”

Dr. Bentley is for restoring the former reading, but we think that *in communion sweet* gives a much better idea than *with refection sweet*. To *quaff immortality and joy*, to drink largely

Quaff immortality and joy, secure  
Of surfeit, where full measure only bounds  
Excess, before the all-bounteous King, who  
    shower'd

With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy. 641  
Now when ambrosial night with clouds exhal'd  
From that high mount of God, whence light and  
    shade

Spring both, the face of brightest Heaven had  
    chang'd

and plentifully of immortal joy, is a very poetical expression, and plainly alluding to *Psal* xxxvi. 8, 9. "Thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures, for with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light shall we see light." If these verses were left out, then (as Dr. Pearce rightly observes) the words in ver. 641 which represent God as *rejoicing in their joy*, would refer to something that is no where to be found; and therefore Milton (he supposes) inserted these verses in the second edition, that the *joy* of the Angels might be expressed.

NEWTON.

Ver. 638. ————— *secure*

*Of surfeit,*] In P. Fletcher's description of heaven, there is the same thought, *Purp. Isl.* c. vi. st. 35.

"*Sweets without surfeit, fulness without sparing.*"

Ver. 641. ————— *rejoicing in their joy.*] What an idea of the Divine Goodness, whose perfect happiness seems to receive an addition from that of his creatures? RICHARDSON.

Ver. 642. ————— *ambrosial night*] So Homer calls the night *ambrosial*, Ἀμβροσίαν διὰ νύκτα, *Iliad.* ii. 57; and sleep for the same reason *ambrosial*, ver. 19, because it refreshes and strengthens as much as food, as much as ambrosia. NEWTON.

Ver. 643. *From that high mount of God, &c.*] See the thought in these lines further opened and enlarged, B. vi. 4.

GREENWOOD.

To grateful twilight, (for night comes not there  
 In darker veil,) and roseat dews dispos'd 646  
 All but the unsleeping eyes of God to rest;  
 Wide over all the plain, and wider far  
 Than all this globous earth in plain outspread,  
 (Such are the courts of God) the angelick  
     throng, 650  
 Dispers'd in bands and files, their camp extend  
 By living streams among the trees of life,  
 Pavilions numberless, and sudden rear'd,  
 Celestial tabernacles, where they slept 654  
 Fann'd with cool winds; save those, who, in  
     their course,  
 Melodious hymns about the sovran throne  
 Alternate all night long: but not so wak'd  
 Satan; so call him now, his former name  
 Is heard no more in Heaven; he of the first,  
 If not the first Arch-Angel, great in power, 660

Ver. 647. *All but the unsleeping eyes of God to rest.*] So the Psalmist, *Psal.* cxxi. 4. "He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep." The author had likewise Homer in mind, *Iliad.* ii. 1.

"Ἄλλοι μὲν ἴα θοοί———

Εὐδοὶ πανόχοι· Δία δ' ἐκ ἔχουσιν ἴδμεν· ἵπποισι. NEWTON.

Ver. 657. *Alternate all night long:*] Milton had here in mind the choral service in cathedrals, when they sing by *alternis*. *Alternate* is the Italian verb, *alternare*; see Della Crusca. See also Card. Bona de Liturgia, p. 333. "*Cantum verò alternum* scribit Socrates, lib. 6. cap. 8. à S. Ignatio Episcopo Antiocheno in Ecclesiam introductum fuisse, ostensâ ei *calitus angelorum* visione, qui hymnos alter ad alterum Sanctissimæ Trinitati concinebant."

In favour and pre-eminence, yet fraught  
 With envy against the Son of God, that day  
 Honour'd by his great Father, and proclaim'd  
 Messiah King anointed, could not bear 664  
 Through pride that sight, and thought himself  
 impair'd.

Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain,  
 Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour  
 Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolv'd  
 With all his legions to dislodge, and leave  
 Unworshipt, unobey'd, the throne supreme, 670  
 Contemptuous; and his next subordinate  
 Awakening, thus to him in secret spake.

Sleep'st thou, Companion dear? What sleep  
 can close  
 Thy eye-lids? and remember'st what decree

Ver. 671. ——— *his next subordinate*] Beelzebub, who  
 is always represented second to Satan. Satan addresses him first  
 here, as he does likewise upon the burning Luke, B. i. 84.

NEWTON.

Ver. 673. *Sleep'st thou, Companion dear? What sleep can close  
 Thy eye-lids? and remember'st what decree &c.*  
*Ilad* ii. 23. *Ευδus, Ἀρπίς εν;* And Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 560.

———“*potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?*”

“*And remember'st,*” that is, “*when thou remember'st &c.*”  
 It is just the same manner of speaking as in B. ii. 730.

———“*what fury, O Son,*

“*Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart*

“*Against thy Father's head? and know'st for whom.*”

that is, “*at the same time that thou know'st for whom.*”

NEWTON.

Of yesterday, so late hath pass'd the lips 675  
Of Heaven's Almighty. Thou to me thy  
thoughts

Wast wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart ;  
Both waking we were one ; how then can now  
Thy sleep dissent ? New laws thou seest impos'd ;  
New laws from him who reigns, new minds may  
raise 680

In us who serve, new counsels, to debate  
What doubtful may ensue : More in this place  
To utter is not safe. Assemble thou  
Of all those myriads which we lead the chief ;  
Tell them, that by command, ere yet dim night 685  
Her shadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haste,  
And all who under me their banners wave,  
Homeward, with flying march, where we possess  
The quarters of the north ; there to prepare

Ver. 684. *Of all these myriads which we lead the chief ;*]  
Dr. Bentley reads *chiefs* ; but Milton speaks after the same  
manner, as here, in B. ii. 469. " Others among the *chief*."  
And in both places *the chief* signifies the same as *the chiefs*, only  
this is a substantive, and that is an adjective, agreeing with the  
word *angels* in the construction." PEARCE.

Ver. 685. *Tell them, that by command, &c.*] He begins his  
revolt with a lie. So well doth Milton preserve the character  
given of him in Scripture, *Jehu* viii. 44. " The Devil is a liar,  
and the father of lies." NEWTON.

Ver. 689. *The quarters of the north ;*] See Samazarius *De  
Partu Virginis*, iii. 40.

" Vos, quum omne arderet cœlum fervilibus armis,  
" Arctœumque furor pertenderet impius axem  
" Scandere, et in gelidos regnum transferre Triones,  
" Fida manus, mœcum mansistis."

Fit entertainment to receive our King,                   690  
The great Messiah, and his new commands,

There are other passages in the same poem, of which Milton has made use. JORTIN.

Some have thought that Milton intended, but I dare say he was above intending here, a reflection upon Scotland; though, being himself an Independent, he had no great affection for the Scotch Presbyterians.

He had the authority, we see, of Sannazarius for fixing Satan's Rebellion in *the quarters of the north*; and he had much better authority, the same that Sannazarius had, that of the Prophet, whose words, though applied to the king of Babylon, yet alluded to this rebellion of Satan, *Isaiah* xiv. 12. "How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!—For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God, I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation *in the sides of the north*."

St. Austin says, that the Devil and his Angels, being averse from the light and fervour of charity, grew torpid as it were with an icy hardness; and are therefore, by a figure, placed *in the north*. See his *Epist.* cxl. sect. 55. And Shakspeare calls Satan "the monarch *of the north*," 1. *Hen.* vi. A. v. S. iii. I have seen too a Latin poem by Odoricus Valmarana, printed at Vienna in 1627, and entitled "*Dæmonomachia, sive De Bello Intelligentiarum super Divini Verbi Incarnatione*." This poem is longer than the *Iliad*, for it consists of five and twenty books; but it equals the *Iliad* in nothing but in length; for the poetry is very indifferent. However, in some particulars, the plan of this poem is very like *Paradise Lost*. It opens with the exaltation of the Son of God; and thereupon Lucifer revolts, and draws a third part of the Angels after him into *the quarters of the north*;

—————"pars tertia levam  
"Hoc duce persequitur, gelidoque aquilone locatur."

It is more probable, that Milton had seen this poem than some others, from which he is charged with borrowing largely. He



Who speedily through all the hierarchies  
Intends to pass triumphant, and give laws.

So spake the false Arch-Angel, and infus'd  
Bad influence into the unwary breast 695  
Of his associate : He together calls,  
Or several one by one, the regent Powers,  
Under him Regent ; tells, as he was taught,  
That the Most High commanding, now ere  
night,

Now ere dim night had disincumber'd Heaven,  
The great hierarchal standard was to move ; 701

was indeed an universal scholar, and read all sorts of authors ; and took hints from the moderns as well as the ancients. He was a great genius, but a great genius formed by reading ; and, was said of Virgil, he collected gold out of the dung of other authors. NEWTON.

The commentators have not observed, that there is still another poem which Milton seems to have copied, " *L'Angeleida di Erasmo di Valvasone*," printed at Venice in 1590, describing the battle of the Angels against Lucifer. I beg leave to add, that Milton seems also to have attended to a poem of Tasso, not much noticed, on the Creation, " *Le Sette Giornate del Mondo Creato*," in 1607. DR. J. WARTON.

This poem of Tasso is in blank verse. The *measure* therefore, as well as the *subject*, would particularly interest Milton. There is another poem, still less noticed, into which also Milton might have looked, " *Della Creazione del Mondo, Poema Sacro, del Sig. Gasparo Murtola, Gurni sette, Canti sedici*," printed at Venice in 1608 ; the printer of which informs the reader, that this work had been expected by the learned with much impatience. The poems of *Du Bartas* and *Tasso* on the same subject are noticed in the same preliminary address. The war of the Angels is briefly related in the first canto.

Tells the suggested cause, and casts between  
 Ambiguous words and jealousies, to found  
 Or taint integrity : But all obey'd  
 The wonted signal, and superiour voice 705  
 Of their great Potentate ; for great indeed  
 His name, and high was his degree in Heaven ;  
 His countenance, as the morning-star that guides  
 The starry flock, allur'd them, and with lies

Ver. 702. *Tells the suggested cause,*] The cause that Satan had suggested, namely, to prepare entertainment for their new king, and receive his laws : *And casts between ambiguous words,* imitated from Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 98.

————— “ hinc spargere voces  
 “ In vulgum ambiguas.” NEWTON.

Ver. 708. *His countenance, as the morning-star &c.*] This similitude is not so new as poetical. Virgil, in like manner, compares the beautiful young Pallas to the morning-star, *Æn.* viii. 589, &c.

But there is a much greater propriety in Milton's comparing Satan to the morning-star, as he is often spoken of under the name of *Lucifer*, as well as denominated *Lucifer, son of the morning*. NEWTON.

Ver. 709. ————— *and with lies &c.*] Dr. Bentley says that the author gave it “ and his lies &c.” but by the expression *his countenance* is meant he himself, a part being put for the whole, as in B. ii. 683, we have *front* put for the whole person : It is very frequent in Scripture to use the word *face* or *countenance* in this sense : as in *Luke* ix. 53. we read of our Saviour, that the “ *Samaritans did not receive him because his face was as though he* (Greek, it) *would go to Jerusalem.*” See also *Levit.* xix. 32. But if this will not be allowed to be Milton's meaning, yet it may be said that Satan's *countenance*, seducing his followers by disguising the foul intentions of his heart, may be very properly said to *seduce with lies*. We read in Cicero's Epistles to his brother, “ *frons, oculi, vultus per sepe mentiantur.*” Lib. i. Ep. i. c. 5. PEARCE.

Drew after him the third part of Heaven's host, 710  
 Mean while the Eternal eye, whose sight discerns

Ver. 710. *Drew after him the third part of Heaven's host.*] See Rev. xii. 3, 4. NEWTON.

Ver. 711. *Mean while the Eternal eye, &c.*] Milton frequently takes a liberty, allowable in a poet, of expressing only some part or quality of a person, when he means the person himself, and goes on to say things which (properly speaking) are applicable only to the person himself. And Milton had good authority for doing so: in *Psal.* liv. 7. the *eye* is made a person, "*mine eye shall see his desire upon mine enemies:*" so, in *Mat.* xx. 15, the *eye* is put for the whole man, "*Is thine eye evil, because I am good?*" See also *Prov.* xxx. 17. PEARCE.

*His countenance allur'd, and with lies drew after him &c.* *The Eternal eye saw &c. and smiling said*—give great offence to Dr. Bentley; and Dr. Pearce says, *his countenance and the Eternal eye* are the part for the whole or the person. But a very learned and ingenious friend questions, whether they are not here used equivocally, and to be construed either as one or the other, according as the sense requires. It is Satan's countenance that allures them like the morning-star, but it is Satan himself that draws them after him with lies; so the Eternal eye sees, but the *smiling said* must relate to the Eternal himself. Spenser has a stronger instance of the impropriety here taken notice of by the critics, and it is repeated as here in Milton: Spenser's *Epythalamion*.

" Her long loose yellow *locks*, like golden wire,  
 " Sprinkled with pearl, and perling flow'rs atween,  
 " Do like a golden mantle *her attire* :  
 " And, being crowned with a girland green,  
 " *Seem* like some maiden queen.  
 " *Her modest eyes* abashed to behold  
 " So many gazers, as on her do stare,  
 " Upon the lowly ground *affixed are* ;  
 " Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold,  
 " But *blush* to bear her praises sung so loud,  
 " So far from being proud." NEWTON.

Abstrusest thoughts, from forth his holy mount,  
 And from within the golden lamps that burn  
 Nightly before him, saw without their light  
 Rebellion rising; saw in whom, how spread 715  
 Among the sons of morn, what multitudes  
 Were banded to oppose his high decree;  
 And, smiling, to his only Son thus said.  
 Son, thou in whom my glory I behold

Ver. 713. *And from within the golden lamps*] Alluding to lamps before the throne of God, which St. John saw in his vision, *Rev. iv. 5.* “*And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 716. *Among the sons of morn,*] So he calls the Angels in his *Hymn on the Nativity*, st. xii.

“But when of old the sons of morning sung.”

And thus Crashaw, in his *Sacred Poems*, 1652, p. 24.

“This daily wrong

“Silenc’t the morning-fount, and damp’t their song.”

The expression is literally from *Isaiah*, xiv. 12. “How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning?”

Ver. 718. *And, smiling, &c.*] *Psalms* ii. 1, &c. “Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?—against the Lord, and against his Anointed—He, that sitteth in the Heavens, shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision.” It appears that Milton had this passage in view, by his making the Son allude so plainly to it in his answer:

————— “Mighty Father, thou thy foes

“Justly hast in derision, and, secure,

“Laugh’st at their vain designs and tumults vain.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 719. ———— *in whom my glory I behold*

*In full splendence, Heir of all my might,*] “For he is the brightness of his Father’s glory, and appointed Heir of all things.” NEWTON.

In full resplendence, Heir of all my might, 720  
Nearly it now concerns us to be sure  
Of our Omnipotence, and with what arms  
We mean to hold what anciently we claim  
Of deity or empire : Such a foe  
Is rising, who intends to erect his throne 725  
Equal to ours, throughout the spacious north ;  
Nor so content, hath in his thought to try  
In battle, what our power is, or our right.  
Let us advise, and to this hazard draw  
With speed what force is left, and all employ 730  
In our defence ; lest unawares we lose  
This our high place, our sanctuary, our hill.

To whom the Son with calm aspect and clear,  
Lightning divine, ineffable, serene,  
Made answer. Mighty Father, thou thy foes 735  
Justly hast in derision, and, secure,  
Laugh'st at their vain designs and tumults vain,  
Matter to me of glory, whom their hate  
Illustrates, when they see all regal power  
Given me to quell their pride, and in event 740  
Know whether I be dextrous to subdue  
Thy rebels, or be found the worst in Heaven.

So spake the Son ; but Satan, with his Powers,  
Far was advanc'd on winged speed ; an host

Ver. 734. *Lightning divine,*] If *Lightning* is a participle, the adjective *divine* is to be taken adverbially, as if he had said *Lightning divinely* : but it is rather a substantive, and in Scripture the Angel's countenance is said to have been like *lightning*, *Dan. x. 6. Mat. xxviii. 3.* NEWTON.

Innumerable as the stars of night, 745  
 Or stars of morning, dew-drops, which the sun  
 Impearls on every leaf and ever flower.  
 Regions they pass'd, the mighty regencies  
 Of Seraphim, and Potentates, and Thrones,  
 In their triple degrees ; regions to which 750

Ver. 746. *Or stars of morning, dew-drops, which the sun  
 Impearls on every leaf and every flower.*] Innumerable as the stars, is an old simile ; but this of the stars of morning, *dew-drops*, seems as new as it is beautiful : And the sun *impearls* them, turns them by his reflected beams to seeming pearls ; as the morn was said before to sow the earth *with orient pearl*, v. 2. NEWTON.

The dew-drops are called *pearly grain*, v, 430, And in Spenser the sun is described, *Faer. Qu.* iv. v. 45,

“ With *pearly dew* sprinkling the morning grasse,”

Compare also Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, ed. supr. p. 70,

“ To walk the mountains, or the flowry meads

“ *Impearl'd* with *tears*, which sweet Aurora sheads.”

And *Ancient Scottish Poems*, edit. 1786. vol. ii. p. 260.

“ The silver *drops of dew* hang on the bewis,

“ *Like orient perle* in gold quhilk set hath bene.”

Ver. 750. *In their triple degrees ;*] This notion of *triples* in all the æconomy of Angels, is started by Tasso, c. xviii. st. 96,

“ *Tre folte squadre, et ogni squadra instrutta*

“ *In tre ordini gira, e si dilata ;*”

and by Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. xli. 39.

“ Like as it had been many an Angel's voice

“ Singing before the eternall Majesty,

“ In their *trinal triplicities* on high.”

The fancy was borrowed from the Schoolmen. BENTLEY.

This fancy seems to have found many admirers and expositors in our old poets. Drayton, in his *Poems*, 1627, p. 486 ; Ben

All thy dominion, Adam, is no more  
 Than what this garden is to all the earth,  
 And all the sea, from one entire globose  
 Stretch'd into longitude; which having pass'd,  
 At length into the limits of the north 755  
 They came; and Satan to his royal seat  
 High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount  
 Rais'd on a mount, with pyramids and towers  
 From diamond quarries hewn, and rocks of gold;  
 The palace of great Lucifer, (so call 760  
 That structure in the dialect of men  
 Interpreted,) which not long after, he  
 Affecting all equality with God,  
 In imitation of that mount whereon  
 Messiah was declar'd in sight of Heaven, 765  
 The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;  
 For thither he assembled all his train,

Jonson, in his *Elegie on the Lady Anne Pawlet*; and Drummond, in his *Flowers of Sion*; give elaborate descriptions of this scholastick division of the angelick Orders. Milton, with superiour judgment, compresses the chief of these magnifick titles into one noble line;

“ Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers ! ”

The inquisitive reader may find the names of the Princes of the nine orders of Angels, in Legh's *Accedens of Armorie*, 1576, fol. 113. b.

Ver. 760. *The palace of great Lucifer,*] See note, on *Eleg.* iii. 49.

Ver. 766. *The Mountain of the Congregation*] Alluding to what has been quoted before from *Isaiah* xiv. 13. “ I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north.”

NEWTON.

Pretending so commanded to consult  
 About the great reception of their King,  
 Thither to come, and with calumnious art 770  
 Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears..

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues,  
 Powers ;

If these magnifick titles yet remain  
 Not merely titular, since by decree  
 Another now hath to himself ingros'd 775  
 All power, and us eclips'd under the name  
 Of King anointed, for whom all this haste  
 Of midnight-march, and hurried meeting here,  
 This only to consult how we may best,  
 With what may be devis'd of honours new, 780  
 Receive him coming to receive from us  
 Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile !  
 Too much to one ! but double how endur'd,  
 To one, and to his image now proclaim'd ?  
 But what if better counsels might erect 785  
 Our minds, and teach us to cast off this yoke ?  
 Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend  
 The supple knee ? Ye will not, if I trust  
 To know ye right, or if ye know yourselves

Ver. 779. Knee-tribute *yet unpaid*, ] So Shakspeare, *K. Rich.* 11.  
 A. i. S. iv.

“ And had the tribute of his *supple knee*.”

And Milton again, v. 787.

“ Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend .

“ The *supple knee* ?”



Natives and sons of Heaven possess'd before 790  
 By none ; and if not equal all, yet free,  
 Equally free ; for orders and degrees  
 Jar not with liberty, but well consist.  
 Who can in reason then, or right, assume  
 Monarchy over such as live by right 795

Ver. 790. *Natives and sons of Heaven possess'd before*

*By none ;*] Dr. Bentley's false pointing of this passage has led others to mistake the sense of it, as well as himself. He refers the word *possess'd* to *natives and sons*, but should it not rather be referred to *Heaven*, the word immediately preceding, there being no comma between them in Milton's own editions, as there is in Dr. Bentley's ? And is not the passage to be understood thus, that *No one possess'd Heaven before them*, they were a sort of Aborigines ? which notion Satan explains more at large in his following speech, ver. 859.

" We know no time when we were not as now ;  
 " Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd  
 " By our own quickening power, when fatal course  
 " Had circled his full orb, the birth mature  
 " Of this our native Heaven, ethereal sons." NEWTON.

Ver. 792. ————— *for orders and degrees*

*Jar not with liberty, but well consist.*] *Jar*, a metaphor taken from musick, to which both the philosophers and poets have always loved to compare government. So Shakspeare, *Hen. v.*

" For government, though high, and low, and lower,  
 " Put into parts, doth keep in one concert ;  
 " Congruing in a full and natural close,  
 " Like musick." NEWTON.

Compare the Ode, *At a Solemn Musick*, v. 19.

—————" till disproportion'd Sin  
 " *Jarr'd* against nature's chime, and with harsh din  
 " Broke the fair musick &c."

His equals, if in power and splendour less,  
 In freedom equal? or can introduce  
 Law and edict on us, who without law  
 Err not? much less for this to be our Lord,

Ver. 798. *Law and edict on us,*] So accented by Shakspeare,  
*Love's Lab. Lost*, A. i. S. i.

“ Our late *edict* shall strongly stand in force.”

Other instances of the same accentuation occur in our elder poets.

Ver. 799. ——— *much less for this to be our Lord,*] This passage seems to me as inexplicable almost as any in Milton. Dr. Bentley thinks it hard to find what *for this* relates to; and therefore reads *forethink*, or if we have no regard to the likeness of the letters, *aspire*, *presume*, or other such word. Then the series (he says) will be this, *Who can introduce law and edict on us?* *much less* can he *forethink*, take it in his scheme or view, *to become our Lord* and master. Dr. Pearce says, that the sentence is elliptical, and may be supplied thus, *much less* can he *for this* (viz. for our being *less in power and splendour*, ver. 796.) in right assume *to be our Lord*. Mr. Richardson understands it to be spoken blasphemously, and with contempt of the Messiah. This *another*, ver. 775. *This King anointed*, ver. 777. *This*, τῆτος, hic: possibly (as Dr. Greenwood imagines) in allusion to that passage, Luke xix. 14. Ὁυ θέλομεν τῶτον βασιλεύσαι ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς, “ nolumus hunc regnare super nos. *We will not have this (man) to reign over us.*” And then the sense will run after this manner, “ *Who can then in justice assume monarchy over equals? or can introduce a law and edict upon us, who without law are infallible? much less can he introduce a law and edict for This* (I do not say what) *to be our Lord and receive adoration from us.*” But then we must write *This* with a great letter, and we must not continue the note of interrogation at the end of the speech. If we should, I imagine we should be obliged to read *much more* instead of *much less*. Dr. Warburton still understands it otherwise. Who can in reason assume monarchy over those who are his equals? and introduce law and edict upon them, when they can conduct their actions rightly without law? much less for this introduction of

And look for adoration, to the abuse 800  
Of those imperial titles, which assert  
Our being ordain'd to govern, not to serve.

Thus far his bold discourse without controul  
Had audience; when among the Seraphim  
Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal ador'd  
The Deity, and divine commands obey'd, 806  
Stood up, and in a flame of zeal severe  
The current of his fury thus oppos'd.

O argument blasphemous, false and proud!  
Words which no ear ever to hear in Heaven 810  
Expected, least of all from thee, Ingrate,  
In place thyself so high above thy peers.  
Canst thou with impious obloquy condemn  
The just decree of God, pronounc'd and sworn,

law and edict claim the right of dominion. For he thought the giving of civil laws did not introduce dominion. His head was full of the ancient legislators, who gave laws to equals and strangers, and did not pretend to the right of dispensing them, which is dominion. So he says before,

————— “ for orders and degrees  
“ Jar not with liberty &c.”

This is good sense, but still the grammatical construction is not easy. I suppose it must be thus, “ *much less for this* (can he assume, ver. 794.) *to be our Lord.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 809. *O argument blasphemous,*] He uses this word again, B. vi. 360, with the accent on the second syllable, according to the Greek. So Spenser, *Fair. Qu.* vi. xii. 34.

“ And therein shut up his *blasphemous* tongue.”

NEWTON.

This was the usual accent of the word by Milton's predecessors and contemporaries.

That to his only Son by right endued 815  
 With regal scepter, every soul in Heaven  
 Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due  
 Confess him rightful King? unjust, thou say'st,  
 Flatly unjust, to bind with laws the free,  
 And equal over equals to let reign, 820  
 One over all with unsucceeded power.  
 Shalt thou give law to God? shalt thou dispute  
 With him the points of liberty, who made  
 Thee what thou art, and form'd the Powers of  
 Heaven 824  
 Such as he pleas'd, and circumscrib'd their being?  
 Yet, by experience taught, we know how good,  
 And of our good and of our dignity  
 How provident he is; how far from thought  
 To make us less, bent rather to exalt  
 Our happy state, under one head more near 830  
 United. But to grant it thee unjust,  
 That equal over equals monarch reign:  
 Thyself, though great and glorious, dost thou  
 count,  
 Or all angelick nature join'd in one,  
 Equal to him begotten Son? by whom, 835

Ver. 822. *Shalt thou give law to God, &c.*] *Rom. ix. 20.*  
 "Who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed  
 say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?"

GILLIES.

Ver. 835. ————— *by whom, &c.*] *Col. i. 16, 17.*  
 "For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that

As by his Word, the Mighty Father made  
All things, even thee ; and all the Spirits of  
Heaven

By him created in their bright degrees,  
Crown'd them with glory, and to their glory nam'd  
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues,  
Powers, 840

Effential Powers ; nor by his reign obscur'd,  
But more illustrious made ; since he the head  
One of our number thus reduc'd becomes ;  
His laws our laws ; all honour to him done  
Returns our own. Cease then this impious rage,  
And tempt not these ; but hasten to appease 846  
The incens'd Father, and the incens'd Son,  
While pardon may be found in time besought.

So spake the fervent Angel ; but his zeal  
None seconded, as out of season judg'd, 850  
Or singular and rash : Whereat rejoic'd  
The Apostate, and, more haughty, thus replied.  
That we were form'd then say'st thou ? and the  
work

are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be *Thrones*, or *Dominions*, or *Principalities*, or *Powers* ; all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist :'' And the conclusion of this speech is taken from the conclusion of *Psalms* ii. NEWTON.

Ver. 848. *While pardon may be found in time besought.*] *Isaiah* lv. 6. " Seek ye the Lord while he may be found."

GILLIES.

Of secondary hands, by task transferr'd  
 From Father to his Son ? strange point and new !  
 Doctrine which we would know whence learn'd :

Who saw

856

When this creation was ? remember'st thou  
 Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being ?  
 We know no time when we were not as now ;  
 Know none before us, self-begot, self-rai's'd 860  
 By our own quickening power, when fatal course  
 Had circled his full orb, the birth mature  
 Of this our native Heaven, ethereal sons.  
 Our puissance is our own ; our own right hand  
 Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try 865  
 Who is our equal : Then thou shalt behold  
 Whether by supplication we intend

Ver. 861. ————— *when fatal course &c.*] We may observe that our author makes Satan a sort of fatalist. We Angels (says he) were "*self-begot, self-rai's'd by our own quickening power, when the course of fate had completed its full round and period ; then we were the birth mature, the production in due season, of this our native Heaven.*" No compliment to fatalism to put it into the mouth of the Devil. NEWTON.

Ver. 864. *Our puissance is our own ;*] *Psalms* xii. 4. "Our lips are our own : who is lord over us ?" GILLIES.

*Ibid.* ————— *our own right hand*

*Shall teach us highest deeds,*] From *Psalms* xlv. 4. "Thine own right hand shall teach thee terrible things." And Virgil, *Æn.* x. 773.

"*Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod missile libro.*"

BENTLEY.

Address, and to begirt the almighty throne  
 Beseeching or besieging. This report,  
 These tidings carry to the anointed King ; 870  
 And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.

He said ; and, as the sound of waters deep,  
 Hoarse murmur echo'd to his words applause  
 Through the infinite host ; nor less for that  
 The flaming Seraph fearless, though alone 875  
 Encompass'd round with foes, thus answer'd  
 bold.

O alienate from God, O Spirit accurs'd,  
 Forfaken of all good ! I see thy fall  
 Determin'd, and thy hapless crew involv'd  
 In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread 880  
 Both of thy crime and punishment : Henceforth  
 No more be troubled how to quit the yoke  
 Of God's Messiah ; those indulgent laws  
 Will not be now vouchsaf'd ; other decrees  
 Against thee are gone forth without recall ; 885

Ver. 869. *Beseeching or besieging.*] Those which are thought the faults of Milton may be justified by the authority of the best writers. This sort of jingle is like that in Terence, *Andria*, A. i. S. iii. 13.

—— “ *inceptio est amentium, haud amantium ;*”  
 and that in Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. i.

“ A little more than *kin*, and less than *kind*.” NEWTON.

Ver. 872. ———— *as the sound of waters deep,*] “ The voice of a great multitude” applauding, is, in like manner, compared to “ the voice of many waters,” *Rev. xix. 6.* NEWTON.

That golden scepter, which thou didst reject,  
 Is now an iron rod to bruise and break  
 Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise ;  
 Yet not for thy advice or threats I fly  
 These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath 890  
 Impendent, raging into sudden flame,  
 Distinguish not : For soon expect to feel  
 His thunder on thy head, devouring fire.  
 Then who created thee lamenting learn,  
 When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know. 895

So spake the Seraph Abdiel, faithful found  
 Among the faithless, faithful only he ;  
 Among innumerable false, unmov'd,  
 Unshaken, uneduc'd, unterrified,  
 His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal ; 900  
 Nor number, nor example, with him wrought

Ver. 886. *That golden scepter, which thou didst reject,*  
*Is now an iron rod]* The same allusion, as in  
 B. ii. 327, where see the note.

Ver. 890. *These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath &c.]* In  
 allusion probably to the rebellion of Korah &c. *Numb. xvi.* where  
 Moses exhorts the congregation, saying, "*Depart, I pray you,*  
*from the tents of these wicked men, lest ye be consumed in all their*  
*sins,* ver. 26." But the construction without doubt is deficient.  
 It may be supplied (as Dr. Pearce says) by understanding *but I*  
*fly* before the word *lest*. See the same elliptical way of speaking  
 in B. ii. 483. But it would be plainer and easier with Dr.  
 Bentley's alteration, if there was any authority for it ;

" These wicked tents devote, but lest the wrath &c."

NEWTON.



To swerve from truth, or change his constant  
mind,  
Though single. From amidst them forth he  
pass'd,  
Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustain'd  
Superiour, nor of violence fear'd aught ; 905  
And, with retorted scorn, his back he turn'd  
On those proud towers to swift destruction doom'd.

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE  
SIXTH BOOK  
OF  
PARADISE LOST.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*Raphael continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were sent forth to battle against Satan and his Angels. The first fight described: Satan and his Powers retire under night: He calls a council; invents devilish engines, which, in the second day's fight, put Michael and his Angels to some disorder; but they at length, pulling up mountains, overwhelmed both the force and machines of Satan: Yet, the tumult not so ending, God, on the third day, sends MESSIAH his Son, for whom he had reserved the glory of that victory: He, in the power of his Father, coming to the place, and causing all his legions to stand still on either side, with his chariot and thunder driving into the midst of his enemies, pursues them unable to resist towards the wall of Heaven; which opening, they leap down with horror and confusion into the place of punishment prepared for them in the deep: MESSIAH returns with triumph to his Father.*

# PARADISE LOST.

## BOOK VI.

ALL night the dreadless Angel, unpursued,  
Through Heaven's wide champain held  
his way ; till Morn,  
Wak'd by the circling Hours, with rosy hand  
Unbarr'd the gates of light. There is a cave  
Within the mount of God, fast by his throne, 5  
Where light and darkness in perpetual round

Ver. 4. *Unbarr'd the gates of light.*] The Hours are feigned  
in like manner to guard the gates of Heaven, Homer, *Il.* v. 749.  
NEWTON.

See also *Ariadne's Complaint*, at the end of *Tasso's Aminta*  
*Englysh't*," 4°. 1628.

" And now the rosy messenger of Day,  
" Her purple doores unbarring, restores sight  
" To the blinde world, fannes the soft mists away  
" From sleeping eyes ; and to the day's behest  
" Rowles vp every bird, and every beast."

Mr. Bowle cites the following passage from *Espinoza*, c. ii.  
ft. 25.

" El 'strellado cielo abra la puerta  
" De muy poquita luz."

In P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, 1633, the sixth canto begins,

" The houres had now unluckt the gate of day :"

The editor of the poem in 1783 has thus altered it,

" The hours had now unbarr'd the gates of day."

Lodge and dislodge by turns, which makes  
 through Heaven  
 Grateful vicissitude, like day and night;  
 Light issues forth, and at the other door  
 Obsequious Darknefs enters, till her hour 10  
 To veil the Heaven, though darknefs there might  
 well  
 Seem twilight here: And now went forth the  
 Morn  
 Such as in higheft Heaven array'd in gold  
 Empyrean; from before her vanish'd Night,

Ver. 7. *Lodge and dislodge by turns,*] The thought of light and darknefs *lodging and dislodging by turns*, the one iffuing forth, and the other entering, is plainly borrowed from a fine paffage in Hefiod, *Theog.* 748.

ὅθι Νύξ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἀμφὶς ἴσσαι  
 Ἀλλήλας προσίπτοι, ἀμειβόμεναι μέγαν ὕδιν  
 Χάλκιοι· ἢ μὲν ἴσω καταβήσεται, ἢ δὲ Στραζὶν  
 Ἐρχεται, ὅθι ποτ' ἀμφοτέρως δόμος ἔλθῃς ἱέργει. NEWTON.

Ver. 14. ——— vanish'd *Night*,] In fome editions it is very abfurdly printed, “*vanquish'd Night*.” NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *from before her vanish'd Night*

Shot through *with orient beams*;] The quaint conceit of *Night's being shot through*, is much below the ufual dignity of Milton's defcriptions. The Italian poets, even the very beft of them, are fond of fuch boyifh fancies, and there is no doubt but we are obliged to them for this. So Marino, fpeaking of night, *Adon.* c. v. ft. 120.

“*E di tenebre armata uccife il giorno.*”

Both, in my opinion, very puerile. THYER.

Mr. Seward, the learned editor of Beaumont and Fletcher, contends, that no expreffion can be better fuited to the nature of the thing: The rays of light do literally *shoot through* the darknefs.

Shot through with orient beams ; when all the  
 plain<sup>15</sup>  
 Cover'd with thick embattled squadrons bright,  
 Chariots, and flaming arms, and fiery steeds,  
 Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view :  
 War he perceiv'd, war in procinct ; and found

The expression indeed is not only just, but highly poetical ; and obtains in various languages. Thus, in the ninety-first *Psalms*, " the arrow that flieth by day," is the power of the sun-beams ; a phrase copied by Lucretius, i. 148.

" Non radii solis, neque lucida tela diei."

And thus Ariosto, as Mr. Bowle also observes, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxviii. st. 65.

" Saettò il sol dall' orizzonte i raggi :"

And Antonio Bruni, *Le Tre Grazie*, p. 279.

" Da mattutini, e tremoli splendori

" *Gia saettata, e lacerata la notte.*"

See more instances in the note on *Sonnet* v. ver. 3. Compare also B. iv. 244.

" Both where the morning sun first warmly smote

" The open field, and where the unpiere'd shade

" Imbrown'd the noontide bowers."

Ver. 18. *Reflecting blaze on blaze,*] In Homer, the splendour of arms and shields is likened to blazing flames. But it is probable, that Milton had in view a very magnificent description of this kind in 1 *Maccabees*, vi. 39. " Now when the sun shone upon the shields of gold and brass, the mountains glistered therewith, and shined like lamps of fire."

Ver. 19. *War in procinct ;*] The Roman soldiers were said to stand in *procinctu*, when ready to give the onset. HUME.

As if you should say *ready-girded* ; in allusion to the ancients, who, just before the battle, used to gird their garments close to them, which, on other occasions, they wore very loose. See *Festus*. RICHARDSON.

Already known what he for news had thought  
 To have reported : Gladly then he mix'd 21  
 Among those friendly Powers, who him receiv'd  
 With joy and acclamations loud, that one,  
 That of so many myriads fall'n, yet one  
 Return'd not lost. On to the sacred hill 25  
 They led him high applauded, and present  
 Before the seat supreme; from whence a voice,  
 From midst a golden cloud, thus mild was heard.

Servant of God, well done; well hast thou  
 fought

The better fight, who single hast maintain'd 30  
 Against revolted multitudes the cause  
 Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms;  
 And for the testimony of truth hast borne  
 Universal reproach, far worse to bear

Ver. 29. *Servant of God,*] So the name of *Abdiel* signifies  
 in Hebrew. NEWTON.

Ibid. ———— *well hast thou fought*  
*The better fight,*] 1 Tim. vi. 12. "Fight the good  
 fight." GILLIES.

Ver. 34. *Universal reproach, far worse to bear*  
*Than violence;*] This sentiment is very just, and  
 not unlike what Florus says, in his character of Tarquin the  
 proud: "In omnes superbia, quæ crudelitate gravior est bonis,  
 grassatus," lib. i. c. vii.

So also Spenser, *Fær. Qu.* iv. iv. 4.

"For evill deeds may better than bad words be bore."

THYER.

Beaumont and Fletcher express the same sentiment very well,  
*Beggar's Bush*, A. ii, S. iii.

Than violence ; for this was all thy care 35  
To stand approv'd in fight of God, though  
worlds

Judg'd thee perverse : The easier conquest now  
Remains thee, aided by this host of friends,  
Back on thy foes more glorious to return, 39  
Than scorn'd thou didst depart ; and to subdue  
By force, who reason for their law refuse,  
Right reason for their law, and for their King  
Messiah, who by right of merit reigns.  
Go, Michael, of celestial armies prince,  
And thou, in military prowess next, 45

“ A good man bears a contumely worse  
“ Than he would do an injury.” NEWTON.

Ver. 36. *To stand approv'd in fight of God,*] II Tim. ii. 15.  
“ Study to show thyself approved unto God.” GILLIES.

Ver. 41. ——— reason *for their law,*] Alluding to the  
word λόγος. NEWTON.

Ver. 44. *Go, Michael, of celestial armies prince,*] As this  
battle of the Angels is founded principally on Rev. xii. 7, 8,  
“ There was war in Heaven ; Michael and his Angels fought  
against the Dragon ; and the Dragon fought and his Angels, and  
prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in  
Heaven ;” Michael is rightly made by Milton the leader of the  
heavenly armies : And the name in Hebrew signifies the *power*  
*of God*.

But it may be censured perhaps as a piece of wrong conduct  
in the poem, that the commission here given is not executed :  
They are ordered to *drive* the rebel Angels *out from God and*  
*bliss*, but this is effected at last by the Messiah alone. Some  
reasons for it are assigned in the speech of God, v. 680, and in  
that of the Messiah, v. 801 in this book. NEWTON.



Gabriel, lead forth to battle these my sons  
 Invincible ; lead forth my armed Saints,  
 By thousands and by millions, rang'd for fight,  
 Equal in number to that Godless crew  
 Rebellious : Them with fire and hostile arms 50  
 Fearless assault ; and, to the brow of Heaven  
 Pursuing, drive them out from God and bliss,  
 Into their place of punishment, the gulf  
 Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide  
 His fiery Chaos to receive their fall. 55

So spake the Sovran Voice, and clouds began  
 To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll  
 In dusky wreaths, reluctant flames, the sign  
 Of wrath awak'd ; nor with less dread the loud  
 Ethereal trumpet from on high 'gan blow : 60  
 At which command the Powers militant,  
 That stood for Heaven, in mighty quadrate  
 join'd  
 Of union irresistible, mov'd on

Ver. 55. *His fiery Chaos*] Chaos may mean any place of confusion ; but if we take it strictly, Tartarus or Hell was built in Chaos, B. ii. 1002 ; and therefore that part of it, being stored with fire, may not improperly be called a *fiery Chaos*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 56. ———— *and clouds began*

*To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll &c.*] In this description the author manifestly alludes to that of God descending upon Mount Sinai, *Exod.* xix. 16, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 58. ———— *reluctant flames,*] As slow, and unwilling to break forth. Virgil, *Æn.* v. 682.

“ *Stuppa vomens tardum fumum—*” NEWTON.

In silence their bright legions, to the sound  
Of instrumental harmony, that breath'd 65  
Heroick ardour to adventurous deeds  
Under their God-like leaders, in the cause  
Of God and his Messiah. On they move  
Indissolubly firm; nor obvious hill,  
Nor straitening vale, nor wood, nor stream,  
divides 70  
Their perfect ranks; for high above the ground  
Their march was, and the passive air upbore

Ver. 64. *In silence*] In B. i. 561, "They mov'd on *in silence* to soft pipes." Where Hume observes, that Homer thus marches his Grecians silent and sedate, *Il.* iii. 8.

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μέγα πυνθύνεις Ἀχαιοί.

Ver. 69. ——— nor obvious bill,

*Nor straitening vale, nor wood, nor stream, divides  
Their perfect ranks ;*] This is evidently an imita-

tion of Tasso, *Gier. Lib. c. i. ft. 75.*

“ Non gran torrente, o monte alpestre, o folta

“Selva, che 'l lor viaggio arrestar possa.”

So, in *Fuimus Troes*, 1633, where Cassibelanus describes the march of Cæsar :

\_\_\_\_\_ "nothing stops him,

"Rivers, nor rampires, woods, nor dangerous bogs."

Ver. 71. ————— for high above the ground &c.] Our author attributes the same kind of motion to the Angels, as the ancients did to their gods; which was gliding through the air without ever touching the ground with their feet, or, as Milton elsewhere elegantly expresses it (B. viii. 302), *smooth-sliding, without step*. And Homer, *Iliad*. v. 778, compares the motion of two goddesses to the flight of doves, as Milton here compares the march of the Angels to the birds coming on the wing to Adam to receive their names. NEWTON.

Their nimble tread ; as when the total kind  
 Of birds, in orderly array on wing,  
 Came summon'd over Eden to receive 75  
 Their names of thee ; so over many a tract  
 Of Heaven they march'd, and many a province  
 wide,  
 Tenfold the length of this terrene : At last,  
 Far in the horizon to the north appear'd  
 From skirt to skirt a fiery region, stretch'd 80  
 In battailous aspect, and nearer view  
 Bristled with upright beams innumerable

Ver. 73. ——— as when the total kind &c.] Homer has used the simile of a flight of fowls twice in his *Iliad*, to express the number and the motions, the order and the clamours, of an army. See *Iliad*. ii. 459, iii. 2. As Virgil has done the same number of times in his *Æneid*, vii. 699, x. 264. But this simile exceeds any of those ; First, as it rises so naturally out of the subject, and was a comparison so familiar to Adam. Secondly, the Angels were marching through the air, and not on the ground, which gives it another propriety ; and here I believe the poet intended the chief likeness. Thirdly, the *total kind* of birds much more properly expresses a prodigious number than any particular species, or a collection in any particular place. Thus Milton has raised the image in proportion to his subject. See *An Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients*, p. 9.

NEWTON.

Ver. 81. ——— and nearer view &c.] To the north appeared a fiery region, and nearer to the view appeared the banded Powers of Satan. It appeared a fiery region indistinctly at first, but upon nearer view it proved to be Satan's rebel army.

NEWTON.

Ver. 82. Bristled with upright beams &c.] The Latins express this by the word *horrere*, taken from the *bristling* on a wild boar's or other animal's back, Virgil *Æn.* xi. 601.

Of rigid spears, and helmets throng'd, and shields  
 Various, with boastful argument portray'd,  
 The banded Powers of Satan hasting on 85  
 With furious expedition; for they ween'd  
 That self-same day, by fight, or by surprize;  
 To win the mount of God, and on his throne  
 To set the Envier of his state, the proud 89  
 Aspirer; but their thoughts prov'd fond and vain

—————"tum late ferreus hastis

"*Horret ager.*"

Milton has before, in B. ii. 513, the expression of "*horrent arms.*" NEWTON.

The Greeks express it by *φρίσσειν*. Thus Homer, *Iliad* xiii. 339.

"ΕΦΡΙΞΕΝ δὲ μέγλη φθισίμβροτος ἰγχιήησι

Μακρῆς, κ. τ. λ.

See also Lycophron, *Cassand.* v. 252, edit. Potter. *Bristling* had been also thus used by Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, 1622. Song xxii.

"The *bristling* pykes doe shake"—

And Pope copies Milton's precise expression, *Iliad* xiii. 431.

"All dreadful glar'd the iron face of war,

"*Bristled with upright spears*, that flash'd afar."

Ver. 84. *Various, with boastful argument portray'd,*] *Shields various* are varied with diverse sculptures and paintings; an elegant Latinism. And the thought of attributing *shields various, with boastful argument portray'd*, to the evil Angels, seems to be taken from the *Phœnisæ* of Euripides, where the heroes, who besiege Thebes, are described with the like boastful shields, only the prophet Amphiaraus hath no such boastful argument on his shield, but a shield without argument, as became a modest man, ver. 1118.

Ὁ μάλιν' Ἀμφιάραος, ἐ σημῶν ἰχθυῶν

Ἰχθυοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως ἄσημ' ὄπλα. NEWTON.

In the mid way: Though strange to us it seem'd  
 At first, that Angel should with Angel war,  
 And in fierce hosting meet, who wont to meet  
 So oft in festivals of joy and love  
 Unanimous, as fons of one great Sire, 95  
 Hymning the Eternal Father: But the shout  
 Of battle now began, and rushing found  
 Of onset ended soon each milder thought.  
 High in the midst, exalted as a God,  
 The Apostate in his sun-bright chariot sat, 100  
 Idol of majesty divine, enclos'd

Ver. 93. *And in fierce hosting meet,*] This word *hosting* seems to have been first coined by our author. It is a very expressive word, and plainly formed from the substantive *host*: And, if ever it is right to make new words, it is when the occasion is so new and extraordinary. NEWTON.

The word *hosting* was not coined by Milton. It was a common term in Ireland to denote the *mustering of armed men*. See the Lord Deputy's Letter to Secretary Coke, dated Dublin, Jan. 31, 1633. "I fet you down these [lists of armed men] only for a taste, not as yet being able to recover the numbers, which are to be found by the Planters in the other Provinces of Leinster and Munster, nor yet of the Irish *hostings*." Lord Strafforde's Letters, vol. i. 199. ed. 1739.

Dr. Johnson cites the same word from Spenser *on Ireland*. "Lords have had the leading of their own followers to the general *hostings*."

Ver. 101. *Idol of majesty divine,*] This is the very same with what Abdiel afterwards at ver. 114 calls *resemblance of the Higheſt*; but how judiciously has Milton culled out the word *idol*, which though it be in its original signification the same as *resemblance*, yet by its common application always in a bad sense served much better to express the present character of Satan!

THYER.

With flaming Cherubim, and golden shields ;  
 Then lighted from his gorgeous throne, for now  
 'Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,  
 A dreadful interval, and front to front 105  
 Presented stood in terrible array  
 Of hideous length : Before the cloudy van,  
 On the rough edge of battle ere it join'd,  
 Satan, with vast and haughty strides advanc'd,  
 Came towering, arm'd in adamant and gold ; 110  
 Abdiel that fight endur'd not, where he stood  
 Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,  
 And thus his own undaunted heart explores.

Ver. 103. ————— for now

*'Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,]*

The same circumstance Tasso has in his description of the decisive battle before the walls of Jerusalem, cant. xx. st. 31.

“ Decree in mezo il campo.” THYER.

Ver. 111. *Abdiel that fight endur'd not,]* Virg. *Æn.* ii. 407.

“ Non tulit hanc speciem furiatâ mente Choraëbus.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 113. *And thus his own undaunted heart explores.]* Such soliloquies are not uncommon in the poets at the beginning and even in the midst of battles. Thus Hector, *Iliad* xxii. 98. explores his own magnanimous heart, before he engages with Achilles,

Ὁχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμὸν.

A soliloquy upon such an occasion, is only making the person *think aloud*. And, as it is observed by a very good judge in these matters, this use of soliloquies by the epic poets, who might so much more easily than the dramatick describe the workings of the mind in narrative, seems to be much in favour of the latter in their use of them, however the modern critics agree (as I think they generally do agree) in condemning them

O Heaven! that such resemblance of the  
Higheſt

Should yet remain, where faith and realtà 115  
Remain not: Wherefore ſhould not ſtrength and  
might

There fail where virtue fails, or weakeſt prove  
Where boldeſt, though to fight unconquerable?  
His puiſſance, truſting in the Almighty's aid,  
I mean to try, whoſe reaſon I have tried 120  
Unſound and falſe; nor is it aught but juſt,  
'That he, who in debate of truth hath won,  
Should win in arms, in both diſputes alike  
Victor; though brutiſh that conteſt and foul,  
When reaſon hath to deal with force, yet ſo 125  
Moſt reaſon is that reaſon overcome.

So pondering, and from his armed peers  
Forth ſtepping oppoſite, half-way he met

as unnatural, though not only frequent, but generally the moſt  
beautiful parts in the beſt plays ancient and modern; and I be-  
lieve very few, if any, have been written without them.

NEWTON.

Ver. 115. ———— *where faith and realtà*] The author  
(ſays Dr. Bentley) would not have ſaid *realtà* but *reality*, and  
therefore the Doctör prefers *fealtà*, which is undoubtedly a  
proper word, but not neceſſary here. For *realtà* ſeems not to  
mean in this place *reality* in oppoſition to *ſhow*, but *loyalty*; for  
the Italian dictionaries explain the adjective *reale* by *loyal*.  
Beſides, where is the difference between *faith* and *fealty* or  
*fidelity*? PEARCE.

Ver. 119. ———— *truſting in the Almighty's aid,*] We  
may remark the piety of the good Angel; and indeed without  
the divine aid and aſſiſtance he would have been by no means a  
match for ſo ſuperiour an Angel. NEWTON.

His daring foe, at this prevention more  
Incens'd, and thus securely him defied. 130

Proud, art thou met? thy hope was to have  
reach'd

The highth of thy aspiring unoppos'd,  
The throne of God unguarded, and his side  
Abandon'd, at the terrour of thy power  
Or potent tongue: Fool! not to think how vain  
Against the Omnipotent to rise in arms; 136  
Who out of smallest things could, without end,  
Have rais'd incessant armies to defeat  
Thy folly; or with solitary hand  
Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow, 140  
Unaided, could have finish'd thee, and whelm'd  
Thy legions under darknes: But thou seest  
All are not of thy train; there be, who faith  
Prefer, and piety to God, though then  
To thee not visible, when I alone 145

Ver. 135. ——— *Fool! not to think how vain &c.*] So  
Waller, in his Verses, *On the taking of Salle*,

“ *Fools*, to provoke the sovereign of the sea!”

And Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 590. And Homer frequently; from whom  
the rest seem to have borrowed it. But Milton here particularly  
imitates Tasso, c. iv. st. 2.

“ Come sia pur leggiera impresa (*abi stolto*)

“ Il repugnare alla divina voglia &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 137. *Who out of smallest things &c.*] As was done to  
Pharaoh. See *Exod.* viii. GILLIES.

Ver. 139. ——— *with solitary hand*] *His single hand.*  
NEWTON.



Seem'd in thy world erroneous to dissent  
 From all: My sect thou seest; now learn too late  
 How few sometimes may know, when thousands  
 err.

Whom the grand foe, with scornful eye askance,  
 Thus answered. Ill for thee, but in wish'd hour  
 Of my revenge, first sought for, thou return'st 151  
 From flight, seditious Angel! to receive  
 Thy merited reward, the first assay  
 Of this right hand provok'd, since first that  
 tongue,

Ver. 147. ——— *my sect thou seest*; &c.] The use of the word *seest* in this place seems a little forced and singular; and I cannot help thinking but Milton brought it in, in order to sneer the Loyalists of his time, who branded all Dissenters, of whom he was one, with the opprobrious name of Sectaries. This also accounts for the word *few* in the next line, inasmuch as it suited Milton's particular view better to establish a general maxim, than to apply it merely to the single case of Abdiel.

THYER.

Ver. 148. *How few sometimes may know*,] These *few* here are still too many. To come up to the point he should have given it, and I suppose did give it,

“How *one* sometimes may know, when thousands err;”

as above, v. 23. “That *one*, yet *one* return'd not lost.” Corn. Nepos in *Epaminonda*, “Ex quo intelligi potest *unum* hominem pluris quàm civitatem fuisse.” Phædri, *Fab.* lxiii.

“Plus esse in *uno* sapere quàm in turba boni.” BENTLEY.

I suppose the good Angel said *few*, though *one* was particularly intended, as it is more modest and less assuming to himself; and for the reason hinted above, intimating that the Sectaries, though fewer in number, were yet more in the right than their opposers. NEWTON.

Inspir'd with contradiction, durst oppose 155  
 A third part of the Gods, in synod met  
 Their deities to assert ; who, while they feel  
 Vigour divine within them, can allow  
 Omnipotence to none. But well thou com'st  
 Before thy fellows, ambitious to win 160  
 From me some plume, that thy success may show  
 Destruction to the rest : This pause between,  
 (Unanswer'd lest thou boast) to let thee know,  
 At first I thought that Liberty and Heaven  
 To heavenly souls had been all one ; but now 165  
 I see that most through sloth had rather serve,  
 Ministring Spirits, train'd up in feast and song !  
 Such hast thou arm'd, the minstrelsy of Heaven,

Ver. 161. ———— *that thy success may show*] Thy success, thy ill success ; the word success is used in the same sense, B. ii. 9. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ———— *that thy success may show*  
*Destruction to the rest :*] Bentley says, a detestable fault : it should be *instruction*. Mr. Pope says, *success* ironically. I do not know what this means. The text is right, and the meaning is, that thy success may show thy fellows the road to destruction, or the way to destroy their enemies. WARBURTON.

Ver. 167. *Ministring Spirits,*] So they are called *Heb. i.* 14. " Are they not all ministring Spirits ?" and Satan mentions it in derision. Compare this with that of Virgil, *Æn. ix.* 614.

" Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis :  
 " Desidiæ cordi : juvat indulgere choreis :  
 " Et tunicæ manicas, et habent redimicula mitræ.  
 " O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges ! ite per alta  
 " Dindyma, ubi assuetis biformem dat tibia cantum.  
 " Tympana vos buxûsque vocat Berecynthia matris  
 " Idææ : finite arma viris, et cedite ferro." NEWTON.

Servility with freedom to contend, 169  
As both their deeds compar'd this day shall prove.

To whom in brief thus Abdiel stern replied.

Apostate! still thou err'st, nor end wilt find  
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:  
Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name  
Of servitude, to serve whom God ordains, 175  
Or Nature: God and Nature bid the same,  
When he who rules is worthiest, and excels  
Them whom he governs. This is servitude,  
To serve the unwise, or him who hath rebell'd  
Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee,  
'Thyself not free, but to thyself enthral'd; 181  
Yet lewdly dar'st our ministring upbraid.

Ver. 172. *Apostate! still thou err'st, nor end wilt find  
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:*] Something like this is what Juno says to Jupiter, *Ihad* xix. 107.

ἡμετέροις, ἐδ' αὖτε τίλος μύθῳ ἐπιθήσεις. THYER.

Ver. 176. ——— *God and Nature bid the same,*] Buchanan asserts the same, "*Eandem scilicet Dei et Naturæ vocem esse.*" *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, p. 28. BOWLE.

Perhaps Pope had Milton's expression in mind, *Essay on Man*, Ep. iii. 317.

"Thus *God and Nature* link'd the general frame,

"And bade Self-love and Social be the same."

Ver. 181. *Thyself not free, but to thyself enthral'd;*] See Horace, *Sat.* II. vii. 81.

"Tu, mihi qui imperitas, aliis servis miser——

"Quisnam igitur liber? sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus."

And, as to what is here said of servitude, see Aristotle's *Poetics*, B. i. c. 3 and 4. NEWTON.

Reign thou in Hell, thy kingdom; let me serve  
 In Heaven God ever blest, and his divine  
 Behests obey, worthiest to be obey'd; 185  
 Yet chains in Hell, not realms, expect: Mean  
 while

From me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,  
 This greeting on thy impious crest receive.

So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high,

Ver. 183. ——— in *Hell, thy kingdom*;] Not that it was so at present. This is said by way of anticipation. God had ordered him to be cast out, v. 52, and, what the Almighty had pronounced, the good Angel looks upon as done. And this sentiment,

“*Reign thou in Hell, thy kingdom; let me serve*

“*In Heaven God ever blest.*”

is designed as a contrast to Satan's vaunt in B. i. 263.

“*Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.*”

NEWTON.

Ver. 187. *From me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight, This greeting &c.*] So Ascanius in Virgil retorts his adversary's term of reproach, *Æn.* ix. 635.

“*Bis capti Phryges hæc Rutulis responsa remittunt,*”

alluding to ver. 599. NEWTON,

Ver. 189. *So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high, &c.*] Milton's superiority to Tasso in his single combats will appear, by comparing this fight of Michael and Satan with that of Tancredi and Argante in the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, c. vi. st. 40.

BOWLE.

*Saying* is here contracted into one syllable, or is to be pronounced as two short ones, which very well expresses the eagerness of the Angel. He struck at his foe before he had finished his speech, while he was speaking, which is much better than Dr. Bentley's reading *So said*, as if he had not aimed his blow, till after he had spoken. NEWTON.

Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell  
 On the proud crest of Satan, that no sight, 191  
 Nor motion of swift thought, less could his shield,  
 Such ruin intercept : Ten paces huge  
 He back recoil'd ; the tenth on bended knee  
 His massy spear upstaid ; as if on earth 195  
 Winds under ground, or waters forcing way,  
 Sidelong had push'd a mountain from his seat,  
 Half sunk with all his pines. Amazement seisd  
 The rebel Thrones, but greater rage, to see  
 Thus foil'd their mightiest ; ours joy fill'd, and  
 shout, 200  
 Preface of victory, and fierce desire  
 Of battle : Whereat Michaël bid sound  
 The Arch-Angel trumpet ; through the vast of  
 Heaven

Ver. 195. ————— as if on earth

*Winds under ground, &c.*] Hesiod compares the fall of Cygnus to an oak or a rock falling, *Scut. Herc.* 421.

Ἡριπι δ', ὡς ὅτε τις δρυς ἥριπιν, ἥ ὅτε αἰτήρη

ἤλασεν, ἀληγιῖσα Διὸς ψολόειντι κεραυνῷ.

And similes of this kind are very frequent amongst the ancient poets ; but though our author might take the hint of his from thence, yet we must allow, that he has with great art and judgement heightened it in proportion to the superiour dignity of his subject. But perhaps he might rather more probably allude to Spenser's description of the fall of the old dragon, under which allegory he intended to represent a Christian's victory over the Devil, *Faery Queen*, i. xi. 54.

“ So down he fell, as an huge rocky clift,

“ Whose false foundation waves have wash'd away,

“ With dreadful poise is from the main land rift, &c.”

THYER.

It founded, and the faithful armies rung  
 Hosanna to the Highest: Nor stood at gaze 205  
 The adverse legions, nor less hideous join'd  
 The horrid shock. Now storming fury rose,  
 And clamour such as heard in Heaven till now  
 Was never; arms on armour clashing bray'd  
 Horrible discord, and the madding wheels 210  
 Of brazen chariots rag'd; dire was the noise

Ver. 205. ———— *nor stood at gaze*  
*The adverse legions, nor less hideous join'd*  
*The horrid shock:]* Hesiod, *Theog.* v. 675.

Τιτῆες δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἱκατέρωθεν φέλαργας  
 Προφρονέως, χιρῶν τε, βίης δ' ἅμα ἔργον ἴφαινον  
 Ἀμφοτέρω.

Ver. 209. ———— *arms on armour clashing bray'd*  
*Horrible discord,]* Gray remembered this passage,  
 when he wrote his *Bard*:

“ Heard ye the din of battle bray,  
 “ Lance to lance, and horse to horse ?”

Mason uses the word, in the sense of Spenser and Shakspeare,  
 as signifying the noise of instruments: *Caract.* Ode :

“ Hark! to my wheels of brass that rattle loud!  
 “ Hark! to my clarion shrill, that brays the woods among!”

Ver. 210. ———— *and the madding wheels*  
*Of brazen chariots rag'd;]* So, in *Fuimus Troes*,  
 1633, A. iv. S. iv.

“ The jingling lances, rattling chariot-wheels,  
 “ Madded their horse.”

Ver. 211. ———— *dire was the noise*  
*Of conflict;]* Hesiod, of the contending gods and  
 Titans, *Theog.* v. 685.

——— Οἱ δὲ ζώσαν μεγάλῃ ἀλαλήτῃ.

Of conflict ; over head the dismal hiss  
Of fiery darts in flaming volleys flew,  
And flying vaulted either host with fire.

Ver. 212. ————— *the dismal hiss*

*Of fiery darts*] Dr. Bentley acknowledges the magniloquence of style, and sublimity of thought, in this animated description of the conflict ; But he supposes the poet to have deserted propriety, while hunting after sound and tumour, in saying, that *the hiss* flew in volleys, and *the hiss* vaulted the hosts with fire.

Dr. Pearce observes, that there is a peculiar force sometimes, in ascribing that to a circumstance of the thing, which more properly belongs to the thing itself ; to the *hiss*, that which belongs to the *darts*.

Mr. Upton adds, that the substantive is sometimes to be construed adjectively, when governing a genitive case ; as in Aristophanes, *Plut.* 268. ὦ χρυσὸν ἀγλίας ἰπῶν, “ O thou who tellest me *a gold of words*,” that is, *golden words* : And, in Sidney’s *Arcadia*, p. 2. “ Opening *the cherry of her lip*,” that is, *cherry lips* : So here *the hiss of darts* is *hissing darts*.

Pope has literally copied Milton, in the fifteenth *Iliad*, v. 356.

“ *Dire was the hiss of darts, by heroes flung.*”

Ver. 214. *And flying vaulted either host with fire.*] Our author has frequently had his eye upon Hesiod’s giant-war, as well as upon Homer, and has imitated several passages ; but commonly exceeds his original, as he has done in this particular. Hesiod says that the Titans were overshadowed with darts, *Theog.* v. 716.

————— κατὰ δ’ ἰσχίους βίλίσσι

Τιτῶνας,

but Milton has improved the horror of the description ; and a *shade of darts* is not near so great and dreadful an image as a *fiery rope or vault of flaming darts*. NEWTON.

Tasso and Ariosto have represented “ the face of heaven overshadowed with darts.” See *Orl. Fur.* c. xvi. st. 57. and *Gier.*

So under fiery cope together rush'd 215  
 Both battles main, with ruinous assault  
 And inextinguishable rage. All Heaven  
 Refounded; and had Earth been then, all Earth  
 Had to her center shook. What wonder? when  
 Millions of fierce encountering Angels fought 220  
 On either side, the least of whom could wield  
 These elements, and arm him with the force  
 Of all their regions: How much more of power  
 Army against army numberless to raise  
 Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb, 225  
 Though not destroy, their happy native seat;  
 Had not the Eternal King Omnipotent,  
 From his strong hold of Heaven, high over-rul'd  
 And limited their might; though number'd such  
 As each divided legion might have seem'd 230  
 A numerous host; in strength each armed hand  
 A legion; led in fight, yet leader seem'd

*Lib. c. vii. ft. 105.* But their descriptions are inferior to this of Milton.

Mr. Bowle here cites the following passage from the romance of *Amadis de Grecia*, P. i. c. 71. f. 91. b. "El rey hizo a mas de quinientos ballesteros que atando a los quadrillos de las factas *fuego grigiso* tirassen a las puertas de la ciudad, y luego se hizo que en poca pieca lancaron tantas factas en las puertas que en punto fueron quemadas ardiendo en vivas llamas."

Ver. 229. ——— *though number'd such &c.*] Each legion was in number like an army, each single warrior was in strength like a legion, and, though led in fight, was as expert as a commander in chief. So that the Angels are celebrated first for their *number*, then for their *strength*, and lastly for their *expertness* in war. NEWTON.



Each warrior single as in chief, expert  
 When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway  
 Of battle, open when, and when to close 235  
 The ridges of grim war : No thought of flight,  
 None of retreat, no unbecoming deed  
 That argued fear ; each on himself relied,  
 As only in his arm the moment lay  
 Of victory : Deeds of eternal fame 240

Ver. 234. *When to advance, or stand, &c.*] Trissino describes these military movements in his *Italia Liberata*, lib. vi. v. 57.

“ E tutti tornan prestamente al dritto,  
 “ Secondo il comandar del capitano.  
 “ San condensare, e rarefar le squadre,  
 “ Doppiarle, e triplicarle, e per i giughi  
 “ Congiunger le decurie, e per i versi,  
 “ O intercalarle in mezzo, o porre a dietro.”

Ver. 236. *The ridges of grim war :*] A metaphor taken from a ploughed field ; the men answer to the ridges, between whom, the intervals of the ranks, the furrows are. *The ridges of grim*, fierce frightful-looking, *war* ; that is, the ranks of the army, the files are implied. The ranks are the rows of soldiers from flank to flank, from side to side, from the left to the right ; the files are from front to rear. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ————— *no thought of flight,*] So Homer, *Iliad* xi. 71.

————— Οὐδ' ἔτιροι μνάων' ἐλοοῖο φόβοιο.

See also *Iliad* xxiv. 216. NEWTON.

Ver. 238. ————— *each on himself relied,*  
*As only in his arm &c.*] Addison has copied this sentiment, in his *Campaign* :

“ Each fought, as on his arm the important day,  
 “ And all the fate of his great monarch, lay.”

Ver. 239. *As only in his arm the moment lay*  
*Of victory :*] *The moment*, the weight that turns

Were done, but infinite ; for wide was spread  
That war, and various ; sometimes on firm ground  
A standing fight, then, soaring on main wing,  
Tormented all the air ; all air seem'd then

the balance ; as the word signifies in Latin : Terence, *Andr.* " Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento huc vel illuc impel-  
litur : " And, as he has employed here the metaphor of the  
*weight*, so of the *scale*, v. 245—using as a metaphor what Homer  
makes a simile of, *Iliad* xii. 433. And in several particulars he  
has had his eye upon Homer, and commonly exceeds his master.  
Homer says, that the Greeks and Trojans *fought like burning fire*,  
*Iliad* xiii. 673. But how much stronger is it in Milton, that  
the war

' " Tormented all the air ; all air seem'd then  
" Conflicting fire ! "

It would be entering into too minute a detail of criticism, to  
mention every little circumstance that is copied from Homer :  
And, where he does not directly copy from Homer, his style and  
colouring are still very much in Homer's manner. Wonderful  
as his genius was, he could hardly have drawn the battles of the  
Angels so well, without first reading those in the *Iliad* ; and  
Homer taught him to excel Homer. NEWTON.

Ver. 242. *That war, and various ; sometimes on firm ground  
A standing fight, then, soaring &c.*] The syntax  
and sense is ; The war was sometimes a standing fight on the  
ground, and sometimes the war, soaring on main wing, tor-  
mented all the air. PEARCE.

Ver. 244. *Tormented all the air ;*] Here Milton takes the  
same liberty of applying the word *torment*, as the Latins did in  
using *vexare*. So Marino, describing Neptune raising a storm,  
*Adon.* c. i. st. 123.

————— " e d' Aquiloni  
" Col fulmine dentato (emulo a Giove)  
" *Tormentando* la terra, il mar commoue." THYER.

Conflicting fire. Long time in even scale 245  
 The battle hung; till Satan, who that day  
 Prodigious power had shown, and met in arms  
 No equal, ranging through the dire attack  
 Of fighting Seraphim confus'd, at length 249  
 Saw where the sword of Michael smote, and fell'd  
 Squadrons at once; with huge two-handed sway

So Spenser, in the *Mourn. Muse of Thestylis*, speaking of Æolus,

“ Who, letting loose the winds,

“ Tost and tormented the air.” NEWTON.

And in Habington's *Castara*, 1635, p. 153.

“ All the loud noises which torment the ayre.”

Ver. 245. ———— *long time in even scale*  
*The battle hung;*] Euripides, *Supplic.* v. 706.  
 ———— ἦν δ' αἶψα ἰσορροπος.

And so Spenser, *Faery Queen*, iv. iii. 37.

“ Whilst thus the case in doubtful ballance hung, &c.”

Where he imitates Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* c. xx. st. 50.

“ Così si combatteva, e in dubbia lance

“ Col timor le speranze eran sospese.”

Ver. 247. ———— *and met in arms*

*No equal,*] The poet seems almost to have forgotten how Satan was foiled by Abdiel in the beginning of the action: But I suppose the poet did not consider Abdiel as *equal* to Satan, though he gained that accidental advantage over him. Satan, no doubt, would have proved an overmatch for Abdiel, only for the general engagement which ensued, and broke off the combat between them. NEWTON.

Ver. 251. ———— *with huge two-handed sway*] Dr. Warburton observes, that it shows how entirely the ideas of chivalry and romance had possessed the poet, to make Michael fight with a *two-handed sword*.

Brandish'd aloft, the horrid edge came down  
 Wide-waisting; such destruction to withstand  
 He hasted, and oppos'd the rocky orb  
 Of tenfold adamant, his ample shield, 255  
 A vast circumference. At his approach  
 The great Arch-Angel from his warlike toll  
 Surceas'd, and glad, as hoping here to end  
 Intestine war in Heaven, the arch-foe subdued  
 Or captive dragg'd in chains, with hostile frown  
 And visage all inflam'd first thus began. 261  
 Author of evil, unknown till thy revolt,

Mr. Bowle cites, from *Huon de Bourdeaux*, the following passage; "*Mon espee laquelle je levay à deux mains*," p. 30.

This formidable weapon is often mentioned indeed by our own writers. Thus, in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 18, a champion is armed with a "*two-hand sword*." And, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song xii.

"Out of his hermit's staffe his *two-hand sword* he drew."

Ver. 255. *Of tenfold adamant*,] In other poets the Angels are armed in adamant, and in Tasso there is particular mention of an adamantine shield, cant. 7. st. 82. "*Scudo di lucidissimo diamante*:" But Milton's is stronger, *of tenfold adamant*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 256. *A vast circumference* :] So, in B. i. 286, of his shield;

————— "*the broad circumference*  
 "Hung on his shoulders like the moon —."

Ver. 262. *Author of evil, &c.*] "Amongst the various conjectures on the origin of *Paradise Lost*, and on Milton's obligations to other writers, I do not recollect to have seen it observed, that the dialogue which takes place between Satan and Michael, during the short suspension of the war in Heaven, was probably suggested by the following passage in Jean Petit's justification of

Unnam'd in Heaven, now plenteous, as thou  
 seest

These acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,  
 Though heaviest by just measure on thyself, 265  
 And thy adherents : How hast thou disturb'd  
 Heaven's blessed peace, and into nature brought  
 Misery, uncreated till the crime  
 Of thy rebellion ! how hast thou instill'd  
 Thy malice into thousands, once upright 270

the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, in regard to the death of the duke of Orleans. " Lucifer foy regardant, et considerant sa noble creature tant belle et tant parfaite, dit en sa pensée luy mesmes : Je feray tant que je mettray ma chaire et mon throsne au dessus de tous les autres anges, et feray semblable à Dieu. C'est à sçavoir qu'on luy feroit obeïssance comme à Dieu, et pour ce faire il deçeut une grand partie des anges et les attrahit à son opiniõ, c'est à sçavoir qu' ils luy feroient obeïssance, honneur et reverence par maniere d' hommage, comme à leur souverain seigneur, et ne feroient de riens subiects à Dieu mais à iceluy Lucifer, lequel tiendroit sa maieté pareillement comme Dieu la sienne, exempte de toute la seigneurie de Dieu et de toute sa subiection. Et ainsi vouloit tollir à Dieu son createur et souverain seigneur la grãd partie de sa seigneurie et les attribuer à foy, et ce luy faisoit faire convoitise, qui s' estoit boutée en sã courage. Si tost que S. Michel apperceut cela, il s'en vint à luy et luy dit que c'estoit trop mal fait et que jamais ne voulsist faire telle chose, et que de tãt que Dieu l' avoit fait plus bel et plus parfait de tous les autres, de tant devoit il monstrier greigneur signe de reverence, subiection et obeïssance à celuy qui l'avoit fait plus bel, qui estoit son roy et souverain seigneur. Lucifer dit, qu' il n' ẽ feroit riens. Saint Michel dit que luy et les autres ne souffreroient point telle iniure faire à leur createur et souverain seigneur, brièvement la bataille se meut entre celuy S. Michel et Lucifer." *Chron. de Monstrelet*, vol. i. p. 39." Walker's Memoir on Italian Tragedy, 1799, p. 334.

And faithful, now prov'd false ! But think not  
here

To trouble holy rest ; Heaven casts thee out  
From all her confines. Heaven, the seat of bliss,  
Brooks not the works of violence and war.

Hence then, and evil go with thee along, 275

Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell ;

Thou and thy wicked crew ! there mingle broils,

Ere this avenging sword begin thy doom,

Or some more sudden vengeance, wing'd from  
God,

Precipitate thee with augmented pain. 280

So spake the Prince of Angels ; to whom thus  
The Adversary. Nor think thou with wind  
Of airy threats to awe whom yet with deeds  
Thou canst not. Hast thou turn'd the least of  
these

Ver. 275. *Hence then, and evil go with thee along,  
Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell ;  
Thou and thy wicked crew ! there mingle broils,*

Imitated from Tasso, where Michael in like manner rebukes the  
infernal Spirits who fought against the Christians, c. ix. st. 64.

“ Itene maledetti al vostro regno,

“ Regno di pene, e di perpetua morte :

“ E siano in quegli a voi douuti chioftri

“ Le vostre guerre, e i trionfi vostri.” NEWTON.

Ver. 282. *The Adversary.*] Not as any enemy in fight may  
be called, but in a sense peculiar to him ; Satan being his name,  
and Satan in Hebrew signifying the *adversary*. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *Nor think thou &c.*] Homer, *Iliad* xx. 200.

Πηλιδῶν, ἀλλ' ὃν μ' ἐπίσσοι γέ, πρῶτισι ὦσι

ἔλπεο διδῆξινθαι. NEWTON.

To flight, or if to fall, but that they rise 285  
 Unvanquish'd, easier to transact with me  
 That thou shouldst hope, imperious, and with  
 threats

To chafe me hence? err not, that so shall end  
 The strife which thou call'st evil, but we style  
 The strife of glory; which we mean to win, 290  
 Or turn this Heaven itself into the Hell  
 Thou fablest; here however to dwell free,  
 If not to reign: Mean while thy utmost force,  
 And join him nam'd Almighty to thy aid,  
 I fly not, but have fought thee far and nigh. 295

They ended parle, and both address'd for fight  
 Unspeakable; for who, though with the tongue  
 Of Angels, can relate, or to what things

Ver. 289. *The strife which thou call'st evil.*] The author gave it

“The strife which thou call'st *hateful*.”

This appears from Michael's words above, v. 264.

“These acts of *hateful strife*, hateful to all.”

BENTLEY.

But why may not this *evil* relate to v. 262? where Satan is called the *author of evil*, of evil displayed in acts of hateful strife: and so in v. 275, *evil go' with thee along* &c. I think that *hateful* would have been a more accurate expression, but *evil* is justifiable. PEARCE.

Ver. 296. ——— *and both address'd for fight*] Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* v. ii. 12.

“And streight himselfe unto the fight address.”

Ver. 298. ——— *can relate, &c.*] The accusative case after the verbs *relate* and *liken* is *fight* before mentioned, and here understood. *For who though with the tongue of Angels can relate*

Liken on earth conspicuous, that may lift  
 Human imagination to such highth 300  
 Of Godlike power? for likest Gods they seem'd,  
 Stood they or mov'd, in stature, motion, arms,  
 Fit to decide the empire of great Heaven.  
 Now wav'd their fiery swords, and in the air  
 Made horrid circles; two broad suns their shields  
 Blaz'd opposite, while Expectation stood 306  
 In horror: From each hand with speed retir'd,  
 Where erst was thickest fight, the angelick throng,  
 And left large field, unsafe within the wind

that fight, or to what conspicuous things on earth can liken it, so conspicuous as to lift human imagination &c. A general battle is a scene of too much confusion; and therefore the poets relieve themselves and their readers, by drawing now and then a single combat between some of their principal heroes; as between Paris and Menelaus, Hector and Ajax, Hector and Achilles in the *Iliad*, and between Turnus and Pallas, Æneas and Mezentius, Turnus and Æneas in the *Æneid*: And very fine they are, but fall very short of the sublimity of this description. Those are the combats of Men, but this of Angels; and this so far surpasses them, that one would think that an Angel indeed had related it. NEWTON.

Ver. 305. ————— While Expectation stood

In horror;] Expectation is personified in the like sublime manner in Shakspeare, *Hen. v.*

“For now sits Expectation in the air.” NEWTON.

And in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca*, A. iii. S. i.

“And Expectation, like the Roman eagle,

“Took stand, and call'd all eyes.”

Ver. 309. And left large field,] So, in Tasso, *Gier. Lib. c. vii. st. 83.*



Of such commotion; such as, to set forth 310  
 Great things by small, if, nature's concord broke,  
 Among the constellations war were sprung,  
 Two planets, rushing from aspect malign  
 Of fiercest opposition, in mid sky 314  
 Should combat, and their jarring spheres con-  
 found.

Together both with next to almighty arm

“E largamente à duo campioni, il campo

“Voto riman fia l' uno, e l' altro campo.”

The champions in chivalry are generally represented as *taking large field*, or *space*, to render their career more effective.

Ver. 313. *Two planets*, &c.] Milton seems to have taken his simile from that of Virgil, but varied and applied to his subject with his usual judgement, *Æn.* viii. 691.

————— “*pelago credas innare revulsas*

“*Cycladas, aut montes concurrere montibus altos.*”

But, as Mr. Thyer observes, he has lessened the grandeur and sublimity of this simile, by tarnishing it with the idle superstitious notion of the malignancy of planets in a particular aspect or *oppositiun*, as the judicial astrologers term it. NEWTON.

Compare Beaumont and Fletcher's *Span. Curate*, A. i. S. i.

————— “Now they begin to burn

“Like *oppos'd* meteors.”

Dr. Pearce observes, that the copulative *And* is dropped before the words *Two Planets*, on account of that fire of imagination which was kindled, and the highth of that noble fury with which the poet was possessed.

Ver. 316. *Together both with next to almighty arm*

*Up-lifted imminent*,] So I conceive the passage should be pointed with the comma after *imminent*, and not after *arm*, that the words *up-lifted imminent* may be joined in construction with *arm*, rather than with *stroke* or *they* following.

Up-lifted imminent, one stroke they aim'd  
 That might determine, and not need repeat,  
 As not of power at once; nor odds appear'd  
 In might or swift prevention: But the sword 320  
 Of Michael from the armoury of God  
 Was given him temper'd so, that neither keen

The arm was quite lifted up, and hanging over just ready to fall. One thinks one sees it hanging almost like the stone in Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 602.

“ Quos super atra fides jam jam lapsura, cadentique

“ *Imminet assimilis.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 317. ——— one stroke they aim'd

*That might determine,*] So, in the *Orlando* of Esplanada, c. xviii. st. 38.

“ *Pensò de un golpe l' henderia,*

“ *Y fu contienda brava acabarla.*”

And, in the *Orl. Innam.* of Boiardo, L. i. c. xvi. st. 14.

“ *Pensò finir la guerra a un colpo Orlando.*” BOWLE.

Ver. 321. ——— *from the armoury of God*] Dr. Newton observes, that Tasso likewise mentions the armoury of God, *Gier. Lib.* c. vii. st. 80. Milton had before mentioned “ *celestial armoury,*” B. iv. 553. But he adverted, not to *Tasso*, but to *Jeremiah* l. 25. “ The Lord hath opened *his* armoury.” He has the phrase again, B. vii. 200.

Ver. 322. *Was given him temper'd so, &c.*] This account of Michael's sword seems to be copied from Arthegal's in Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* v. i. 10.

“ For of most perfect metall it was made,—

“ And was of no less virtue than of fame.

“ For there no substance was so firm and hard,

“ But it would pierce or cleave, whereso it came;

“ Ne any armour could his dint out-ward,

“ But, wheresoever it did light, it throughly *shar'd.*”

Nor solid might resist that edge: it met  
 The sword of Satan, with steep force to smite  
 Descending, and in half cut sheer; nor staid, 325  
 But with swift wheel reverse, deep entering, shar'd  
 All his right side: Then Satan first knew pain,  
 And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd; so fore

The word *shar'd* is used in the same manner by Milton.

NEWTON.

These qualities of the sword are specified in romance; *Historia de Carlo Magno*, l. i. c. 21. "Fierabras cino su espada namada Plorança, y tenia otras dos al arçon de la silla, las quales eran *de tal temple* que ningun armes porfino que fuesse *las malla*, in lizo *señal* en ellas." BOWLE.

Ver. 325. *Descending*,} The *descending* of the sword is the almost universal language of romance. "La espada *descendi* hasta los pechos," *Amad. de Gaul.* l. i. c. 6. c. 39. l. iii. "El espada *descendi* al cuello del cavallo," *Palmerin de Oliva* fol. 59. 6. "L'espée l'atteignit sur l'un des cottez en *descendant*," *Huon de Bourdeaux*, 45. "Scende la spada, &c." Boiardo, *Orl. Innam.* l. i. c. xix. st. 14. "La spada del ciel *scende*," Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxviii. st. 15. BOWLE.

Ver. 328. ————— *so fore*

The griding *favord* with discontinuous wound

*Pasi'd through him:*] *Discontinuous* wound is said

in allusion to the old definition of a wound, that it separates the *continuity* of the parts, "Vulnus est solutio *continui*:" And *griding* is an old word for cutting; as in Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* ii. viii. 36.

"That through his thigh the mortal steel did *gride*."

NEWTON.

The wounding of Satan, and his behaviour after the battle, seem to be an improvement upon Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* iv. iv. 24.

"The wicked Steele, for mischief first ordained,

"And having now misfortune got for guide,

The griding sword with discontinuous wound  
 Pass'd through him: But the ethereal substance  
 clos'd,  
 Not long divisible; and from the gash  
 A stream of nectarous humour issuing flow'd

“ Staid not, till it arrived in his side,  
 “ And therein made a very grievous wound,  
 “ That streames of blood his armour all bedide:  
 “ Much was he daunted with that direfull stound,  
 “ That scarce he him upheld from falling in a swoond.”

25.

“ Yet, as he might, himself he soft withdrew  
 “ Out of the field, that none perceiv'd it plaine.”

BOWLE.

Ver. 332. *A stream of nectarous humour issuing flow'd*

*Sanguine,*] Here is an odious blunder. *Nectar* is the drink of the Gods: and was Satan's *humour* or *blood* a proper drink? But the next line shows what the author dictated,

“ Sanguine, such as celestial Spirits may bleed.”

The whole distich is, word for word, taken from a verse in Homer,

Ἰχὼρ, οἷός τις ἦν τοῖς μακάρεσσιν θεοῖσιν.

Homer's Gods, when wounded, bled *Ichor*, different from human blood, and peculiar to them. And Milton makes his angels bleed the same humour, that has no other name. He gave it therefore

“ A stream of *ichorous* humour issuing flow'd.”

BENTLEY.

I should have thought, that an attentive reader could not have missed observing that the *stream*, which Milton speaks of, was not of *nectarous humour* only, but of *nectarous humour sanguine*, that is, converted into what *celestial spirits bleed*: And what is that but the same which Homer expresses by one word *Ichor*? If this was the poet's meaning, the doctor's objection

Sanguine, such as celestial Spirits may bleed,  
 And all his armour stain'd, ere while so bright.  
 Forthwith on all sides to his aid was run 335  
 By Angels many and strong, who interpos'd  
 Defence, while others bore him on their shields  
 Back to his chariot, where it stood retir'd  
 From off the files of war: There they him laid  
 Gnashing for anguish, and despite, and shame, 340  
 To find himself not matchless, and his pride  
 Humbled by such rebuke, so far beneath  
 His confidence to equal God in power.  
 Yet soon he heal'd; for Spirits that live throughout

is wide of the mark. Besides, if *necharous* was wrong, *ichorous* would seem to be right; because the middle syllable of it should be long, according to the prosody of the word from which it is derived. PEARCE.

Ver. 335. ————— to his aid was run] A Latinism, says Dr. Newton, as in Virgil, "*Postquam arma dei ad Vulcania ventum est.*" Milton, I observe, thus writes in his *Hist. of Eng.* B. ii. "Now was fought eagerly on both sides."

Ver. 336. ————— who interpos'd] Thus Homer makes the chief of the Trojans interpose between their wounded hero, when he was overborne by Ajax. Satan lighted out of his sun-bright chariot at ver. 103, and, according to the Homeric manner, is now wounded, and borne (on the shields of Seraphim) back to it, where it was placed out of the range and array of battle, *Iliad.* xiv. 428.

————— Τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἵταϊζον

Χειρὶν αἰράνεις φέρον ἐκ πόρου, ὅφρ' ἵκηθ' ἵππου

᾽Ωκίας, οἱ οἱ ὅπωςδε μάχης ἤδη πολέμοιο

Ἔρασσε, ἡνίοχόν τε καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλ' ἵχνους &c.

much more loose and redundant than our expressive author.

HUME.

Ver. 344. *Yet soon be heal'd;*] Pfellus relates of devils,

Vital in every part, not as frail man 345  
 In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins,  
 Cannot but by annihilating die ;  
 Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound  
 Receive, no more than can the fluid air :  
 All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear, 350  
 All intellect, all sense ; and, as they please,  
 They limb themselves, and colour, shape, or size  
 Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare.

Mean while in other parts like deeds deserv'd  
 Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought, 355

“ that they *feel pain* if they be hurt ; that, if their bodies be cut, *with admirable celerity they come together againe* ; that, *in their fall*, their bodies were *charged* into a more aeriall and *gross* substance.” See Burton’s *Anat. Melanch.* ed. 1624, p. 37.  
 And compare also the following passage in this book ;

—————“ Spirits of purest light,  
 “ Purest at first, now *gross* by *sinning* grown.”

Ver. 348. *Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound  
 Receive, no more than can the fluid air :*] The  
 same comparifon in Shakspeare’s *Macbeth*,

“ As easy may’st thou the intrenchant air  
 “ With thy keen sword impress, as make me bleed.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 350. *All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,  
 All intellect, all sense ;*] This is expressed very  
 much like Pliny’s account of God, *Nat. Hist.* L. i. c. vii.  
 “ Quisquis est Deus, si modo est alius, quacunq; in parte, totus  
 est sensus, totus visus, totus auditus, totus animæ, totus animi,  
 totus sui.” NEWTON.

Ver. 355. ——— *the might of Gabriel*] See Hume’s note,  
 B. v. 371.

And with fierce ensigns pierc'd the deep array  
 Of Moloch, furious king; who him defied,  
 And at his chariot-wheels to drag him bound  
 Threaten'd, nor from the Holy One of Heaven  
 Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon 360  
 Down cloven to the waist, with shatter'd arms  
 And uncouth pain fled bellowing. On each wing  
 Uriel, and Raphaël, his vaunting foe,  
 Though huge, and in a rock of diamond arm'd,

Ver. 359. ——— *nor from the Holy One of Heaven*

*Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous;*] II Kings xix.

22. "Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed?—even the Holy One of Israel." GILLIES.

Ver. 362. *And uncouth pain fled bellowing.*] *Uncouth* is a word very common with Spenser; but Milton, no doubt, in this particular application of it, had in view the following lines, *Faer. Qu. i. xi. 20.*

"The percing steele there wrought a wound full wyde,

"That with the *uncouth smart* the monster loudly cryde."

THYER.

Ver. 363. *Uriel, and Raphael,*] The speaker here is *Raphael*; and it had been improper to mention himself as a third person, and tell his own exploits; but that Adam knew not his name. Had he known it, he must have said "*Uriel and I*;" which he cared not to do. BENTLEY.

*Ibid. Uriel, and Raphaël, his vaunting foe,*] Dr. Bentley and Mr. Thyer are of opinion, that a word is left out in this line, and that the sense and the measure would be improved by reading it thus;

"Uriel, and *Raphael*, each his vaunting foe." NEWTON.

Ver. 364. ——— *and in a rock of diamond arm'd,*] Compare P. Fletcher, *Purp. Iff. c. x. st. 15.*

Vanquish'd Adramelech, and Asmadai, 365  
Two potent Thrones, that to be less than Gods  
Disdain'd, but meaner thoughts learn'd in their  
flight,

Mangled with ghastly wounds through plate and  
mail.

Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy  
The atheist crew, but with redoubled blow 370  
Ariel, and Arioch, and the violence  
Of Ramiel scorch'd and blasted, overthrew.  
I might relate of thousands, and their names

“ His *rockie arms* of massie adamant

“ Safely could back rebutt the hardest blade.”

Ver. 365. Adramelech, and Asmadai,] *Adramelech*, Hebrew, *mighty, magnificent king*; one of the idols of Sepharvaim, worshipped by them in Samaria, when translated thither by Shalmaneser, II Kings xvii. 31. *Asmadai*, the *lustful and destroying angel* Asmodeus, mentioned in Tobit iii. 8. HUMPH.

Ver. 368. *Mangled with ghastly wounds through plate and mail.*] Spenser, *Faery Qu.* i. vi. 43.

— “ with their force they perst both *plate and mail*,

“ And made wide furrowes in their fleshes fraile.”

Ver. 371. Ariel, and Arioch,] *Ariel*, Hebrew, *the lion of God*, or a *strong lion*. *Arioch* of the like signification, a *fierce and terrible lion*. HUMPH.

Ibid. ———— *the violence*

*Of Ramiel*] Virgil, *Æn.* xi. 376. “ *Violentia Turni.*”

That is, the violent Turnus himself. UPTON.

Ver. 372. *Ramiel*] Hebrew, *One that exalts himself against God*. HUMPH.

Ver. 373. *I might relate of thousands,*] The poet here puts into the mouth of the angel an excellent reason for not relating more particulars of this first battle. It would have been im-



Eternize here on earth ; but those elect 374  
 Angels, contented with their fame in Heaven,  
 Seek not the praise of men : The other sort,  
 In might though wonderous and in acts of war,  
 Nor of renown less eager, yet by doom  
 Cancell'd from Heaven and sacred memory,  
 Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell. 380  
 For strength from truth divided, and from just,  
 Illaudable, nought merits but dispraise  
 And ignominy ; yet to glory aspires  
 Vain-glorious, and through infamy seeks fame :  
 Therefore eternal silence be their doom. 385  
 And now, their mightiest quell'd, the battle  
 swerv'd,  
 With many an inroad gor'd ; deformed rout  
 Enter'd, and foul disorder ; all the ground

proper on all accounts to have enlarged much more upon it ; but it was proper that the angel should appear to know more than he chose to relate, or than the poet was able to make him relate.

NEWTON.

Ver. 382. *Illaudable,*] Is used here much in the same manner as *illaudatus* in Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 5.

—————“ Quis aut Eurysthea durum,

“ Aut *illaudati* nescit Bufridis aras ?” NEWTON.

Ver. 386. ————— *the battle swerv'd,*] Hesiod, *Theog.* v. 711. ἘΚΑΙΝΘΗ δὲ μάχη. TYLER.

*Swerv'd*, from the Saxon *swerven*, to wander out of its place ; here, by analogy, to bend, to ply ; for in that case an army in battle properly *swerves*. RICHARDSON.

The word is used in the same sense by Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* v. x. 35.

“ Who from his saddle *swerved* nought aside.” NEWTON.

With shiver'd armour strown, and on a heap  
 Chariot and charioteer lay overturn'd, 390  
 And fiery-foaming steeds; what stood, recoil'd  
 O'er-wearied, through the faint Satanick host  
 Defensive scarce, or with pale fear surpris'd,  
 Then first with fear surpris'd, and sense of pain,  
 Fled ignominious, to such evil brought 395  
 By sin of disobedience; till that hour  
 Not liable to fear, or flight, or pain.  
 Far otherwise the inviolable Saints,  
 In cubick phalanx firm, advanc'd entire,

Ver. 391. ———— *what stood, recoil'd &c.*] The construction has occasioned some difficulty here, but it may be thus explicated. *What stood* is the nominative case in the sentence, and the verbs are *recoil'd* and *fled*. It would indeed be a contradiction to say that *what stood* their ground, *fled*; but that is not the meaning of it, *what stood* is put in opposition to what *lay overturn'd* in the preceding line. Part of the Satanick host *lay overturn'd*; and that part which was not overturn'd, but kept on their feet, *and stood*, either gave way and *recoil'd* o'er-wearied, or, *with pale fear surpris'd, fled ignominious*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 396. ———— *till that hour &c.*] It seems a very extraordinary circumstance attending a battle, that not only none of the warriors on either side were capable of death by wound, but on one side none were capable of wound, or even of pain. This was a very great advantage on the side of the good Angels; but we must suppose that the rebel Angels did not know their own weakness *till this hour*. NEWTON.

Ver. 399. *In cubick phalanx firm,*] In strictness of speech, to have been *cubick*, it must have been as high, as it is broad, as Dr. Bentley justly observes. But why must a poet's mind, sublimed as Milton's was on this occasion, be expected to attend to every circumstance of an epithet made use of? He meant *four*

Invulnerable, impenetrably arm'd ; 400  
 Such high advantages their innocence  
 Gave them above their foes ; not to have sinn'd,  
 Not to have disobey'd ; in fight they stood  
 Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain'd  
 By wound, though from their place by violence  
 mov'd. 405

Now Night her course began, and, over Heaven  
 Inducing darkness, grateful truce impos'd,  
 And silence on the odious din of war ;  
 Under her cloudy covert both retir'd,

*square* only, having that property of a *cube* to be equal in length on all sides. And so he expresses himself in his tract called *The Reason of Church Government* &c. p. 215. edit. Toland. "*As these smaller squares in battle unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an emblem of truth and stedfastness.*" To be sure, Milton's *cube*, though not strictly proper, is better than the epithet *martial* (which the Doctor would give us in the room of it) because a *phalanx* in battle could not be otherwise than *martial* ; and so closely united an idea could not have any beauty or force here. PEARCE.

Ver. 405. — *though from their place by violence mov'd.*] This circumstance is judiciously added to prepare the reader for what happens in the next fight. NEWTON.

Ver. 406. *Now Night her course began, and, over Heaven  
 Inducing darkness, grateful truce impos'd,*] The same with Tasso on a like occasion, *G. L.* cant. xi. st. 18.

" Sin che se nuova tregua à la fatica

" La cheta notte, e del riposo amica." THYER.

Ver. 407. *Inducing darkness,*] He seems here to have copied Horace, *Sat.* I. v. 9.

———" Jam *nox inducere teris*

" Umbras, et cœlo diffundere signa parabat." NEWTON.

Victor and vanquish'd: On the foughten field  
 Michaël and his Angels prevalent  
 Encamping, plac'd in guard their watches round,  
 Cherubick waving fires: On the other part,  
 Satan with his rebellious disappear'd,  
 Far in the dark dislodg'd; and, void of rest, 415  
 His potentates to council call'd by night;  
 And in the midst thus undismay'd began.

O now in danger tried, now known in arms

Ver. 410. ————— *on the foughten field*] Dr. Lowth objects to this participle as not agreeable to the analogy of derivation, which obtains in irregular verbs in *ght*.

Milton adopted it from preceding poets. Thus Shakspeare, *K. Hen. V.*

“As in this glorious and well-foughten field.”

And Drayton, *Polyd. Song xii.*

“In seven brave foughten fields—”

And Beaumont and Fletcher, *Laws of Candy*, A. iii. S. i.

————— “the sad sports we riot in

“Are tales of foughten fields.”

Ver. 413. *Cherubick waving fires*:] Their watches were *Cherubick waving fires*, that is, Cherubim like fires waving; the Cherubim being described by our author, agreeably to Scripture, as of a fiery substance and nature. NEWTON.

Ver. 415. ————— *and, void of rest,*

*His potentates to council call'd by night*;] So Agamemnon, the Grecians being defeated by Hector, calls a council of the princes and generals by night, *Iliad ix.* NEWTON.

Ver. 418. *O now in danger tried, &c.*] This speech of Satan is very artful. He flatters their pride and vanity, and avails himself of the only comfort that could be drawn from this day's engagement (though it was a false comfort) that God was neither so powerful nor wise as he was taken to be. He

Not to be overpower'd, Companions dear,  
 Found worthy not of liberty alone, 420  
 Too mean pretence! but what we more affect,  
 Honour, dominion, glory, and renown;  
 Who have sustain'd one day in doubtful fight,  
 (And if one day, why not eternal days?)  
 What Heaven's Lord had powerfulest to send 425  
 Against us from about his throne, and judg'd  
 Sufficient to subdue us to his will,  
 But proves not so: Then fallible, it seems,  
 Of future we may deem him, though till now  
 Omniscient thought. True is, less firmly arm'd,  
 Some disadvantage we endure'd and pain, 431  
 Till now not known, but, known, as soon con-  
 temn'd;  
 Since now we find this our empyreal form  
 Incapable of mortal injury,

was forced to acknowledge, that they had suffered some loss and pain, but endeavours to lessen it as much as he can, and attributes it not to the true cause, but to their want of better arms and armour, with which he therefore proposes that they should provide themselves, in order both to defend themselves and annoy their enemies. NEWTON.

Ver. 422. *Honour,*] Dr. Pearce observes, that Milton here means by *honour* that which arises from high titles.

Ver. 431. ————— *and pain,*  
*Till now not known, but, known, as soon contemn'd;*  
*Since now we find &c.]* Prometheus in like manner comforts and confirms himself against Jupiter's threats, Æschyl. *Prom. Vinct.* v. 932.

τί δ' αὖ φοβούμεν, ὃ θανόν τι μόρσιμον; THYER.

Imperishable, and, though pierc'd with wound,  
Soon closing, and by native vigour heal'd. 436  
Of evil then so small as easy think  
The remedy ; perhaps more valid arms,  
Weapons more violent, when next we meet,  
May serve to better us, and worse our foes, 440  
Or equal what between us made the odds,  
In nature none : If other hidden cause  
Left them superiour, while we can preserve  
Unhurt our minds, and understanding sound,  
Due search and consultation will disclose. 445

He sat ; and in the assembly next upstood  
Nisroch, of Principalities the prime ;  
As one he stood escap'd from cruel fight,  
Sore toil'd, his riven arms to havock hewn,  
And cloudy in aspect thus answering spake. 450

Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free  
Enjoyment of our right as Gods ; yet hard  
For Gods, and too unequal work we find,  
Against unequal arms to fight in pain, 454  
Against unpain'd, impassive ; from which evil  
Ruin must needs ensue ; for what avails  
Valour or strength, though matchless, quell'd  
with pain

Ver. 447. *Nisroch*,] A god of the Assyrians, in whose temple Sennacherib was killed by his two sons, II Kings xix. 37. It is not known who this deity was. He must have been a principal idol, being worshipped by so great a prince, and at the capital city Nineveh ; which may justify Milton in calling him *of Principalities the prime*. NEWTON.

Which all subdues, and makes remiss the hands  
 Of mightiest? Sense of pleasure we may well  
 Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine, 460  
 But live content, which is the calmest life :  
 But pain is perfect misery, the worst  
 Of evils, and, excessive, overturns  
 All patience. He, who therefore can invent  
 With what more forcible we may offend 465  
 Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm  
 Ourselves with like defence, to me deserves  
 No less than for deliverance what we owe.

Whereto with look compos'd Satan replied.  
 Not uninvented that, which thou aright 470  
 Believ'st so main to our success, I bring.  
 Which of us who beholds the bright surface

Ver. 462. ————— *the worst*

*Of evils,]* Nisroch is made to talk agreeably to the sentiments of Hieronymus and those philosophers, who maintained that pain was the greatest of evils; there might be a possibility of living without pleasure, but there was no living in pain. A notion suitable enough to a deity of the effeminate Assyrians. NEWTON.

Ver. 467. ————— *to me deserves*

*No less than for deliverance what we owe,]* Nisroch is speaking; he had complimented Satan (ver. 451.) with the title of *Deliverer*; here he ventures to say that *Whoever could invent the new engine of war would be equal to him in his estimation*. Milton has taken care that this deliverer should also have this merit, and be without a competitor; Satan is both the one and the other as it follows immediately. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 472. *Which of us who beholds the bright surface]* *Surface* is to be read with the accent on the last syllable.

The construction of this sentence is, "Which of us who be-

Of this ethereous mould whercon we stand,  
 This continent of spacious Heaven, adorn'd  
 With plant, fruit, flower ambrosial, gems, and  
     gold ;

475

Whose eye so superficially surveys  
 These things, as not to mind from whence they  
     grow

Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,  
 Of spiritous and fiery spume, till, touch'd  
 With Heaven's ray, and temper'd, they shoot  
     forth

480

So beauteous, opening to the ambient light ?  
 These in their dark nativity the deep  
 Shall yield us, pregnant with infernal flame ;  
 Which, into hollow engines, long and round,

holds &c., so superficially surveys these things :'' But, as the nominative case *Which of us* is mentioned so many lines before the verb *surveys*, he throws in another nominative case, *Whose eye*, v. 476. NEWTON.

Ver. 482. ————— *the deep*] It is commonly used for *Hell*, but here is only opposed to *surface*, v. 472 ; and is the same as *deep under ground*, v. 478 ; which may likewise explain the word *infernal* in the next line. Not but *infernal flame* may mean flame like that of Hell, Hell having been frequently mentioned before by the Angels, and the idea being very well known. NEWTON.

Ver. 484. *Which, into hollow engines, &c.*] *Which*, that is, the materials, v. 478. *These* the deep shall yield us, v. 482.

*Hollow engines*, great guns ; the first invention of which is very properly attributed to the author of all evil. Ariosto has described them in the same manner, *Orl. Fur.* c. ix. st. 28 ; and attributes the invention to the Devil. Spenser has the same thought, *Faer. Qu.* i. vii. 13.



Thick ram'm'd, at the other bore with touch of fire  
Dilated and infuriate, shall fend forth 486

“ As when that divelish yron engin, wrought  
“ In deepest hell, and fram'd by furies skill,  
“ With windy nitre and quick sulphur fraught,  
“ And ram'd with bullet rownd, ordain'd to kill, &c.”

NEWTON.

See also Drayton's description in the eighteenth Song of his *Polyolbion*, 1622.

“ What time (I thinke in *hell*) *that instrument devis'd,*  
“ The first appear'd in *France*, as a prodigious birth  
“ *To plague the wretched world, sent from the envious earth.*”

By the way, it may amuse the curious reader to give Harington's remarks on the invention of cannon, at the end of his translation of the ninth and eleventh books of Ariosto, edit. 1607.

“ Of the inuention of gunnes Ariosto affirmeth in a manner that they were inuented in *Germanie*. And so I haue read, that the first time they were vsed was in the yeare 1391, in the Venetians war against the Genoeſe; but it is maruell that the inuentors name of so monstrous a thing is not knowne. Bacon, the great English necromancer, wrote many yeares before that time, that he knew how to make an engin, that, with salt peter and brimstone wel tempered together, should proue notable for batterie, but he said he would not discouer it, for feare it would be *a meane to destroy all mankind*.

“ Virgil hath a verse in the sixth of the *Æneados*, which myselfe have wondered at many times, to see how plainly it expresseth the qualitie of a peece of Ordenance. He tells us, that one Salmoneus, a gyant, had an engin of warre, with which he imitated Iupiters thunder and lightning: And surely this he would not haue fained, but that he heard of some such thing. The verse is this,

“ *Dum flammas Jovis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.*”

Some of our far travell'd men tell vs, that they of *Chyna* had vsd of peeeces some thousands of yeares, which I could be willing

From far, with thundering noise, among our foes  
 Such implements of mischief, as shall dash  
 To pieces, and o'erwhelm whatever stands  
 Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarm'd 490  
 The Thunderer of his only dreaded bolt.

Nor long shall be our labour ; yet ere dawn,  
 Effect shall end our wish. Mean while revive ;  
 Abandon fear ; to strength and counsel join'd  
 Think nothing hard, much less to be despair'd. 495

He ended, and his words their drooping cheer  
 Enlighten'd, and their languish'd hope reviv'd.  
 The invention all admir'd, and each, how he  
 To be the inventor mis'd ; so easy it seem'd  
 Once found, which yet unfound most would have  
 thought 500

Impossible : Yet, haply, of thy race  
 In future days, if malice should abound,  
 Some one intent on mischief, or inspir'd  
 With devilish machination, might devise

to credit, saue that they also tell of the records there since before  
 Adam's creation many yeares."

That guns were the *devil's invention*, appears to have been the  
 opinion of other persons, besides the poets. See Grey's Notes  
 on Shakspeare, vol. i. 383.

Ver. 502. *In future days* —————

*Some one intent &c.*] This speaking in the spirit  
 of prophecy, adds great dignity to poetry. It is in the same  
 spirit that Dido makes the imprecation, Virg. *Æn.* iv. 625.

" Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor &c."

This, here, very properly comes from the mouth of an Angel.

NEWTON.

Like instrument to plague the sons of men 505  
 For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent.  
 Forthwith from council to the work they flew;  
 None arguing stood; innumerable hands  
 Were ready; in a moment up they turn'd  
 Wide the celestial soil, and saw beneath 510  
 The originals of nature in their crude  
 Conception; sulphurous and nitrous foam  
 They found, they mingled, and, with subtle art,

Ver. 507. *Forthwith from council to the work they flew;*] This and the two following lines are admirably contrived to express the hurry of the Angels; and consist therefore of short periods, without any particles to connect them. NEWTON.

Ver. 512. ————— *sulphurous and nitrous foam*

*They found, they mingled, &c.*] See the quotation from Spenser, in note on v. 484. Valvasone's poem on the *War of Heaven* has been mentioned, in the note on B. v. 689. Mr. Hayley, in his *Conjectures on the Origin of the Paradise Lost*, notices the familiarity of Milton with this work, and transcribes from it the following verses, as they assign to the Infernal Powers the invention of artillery, and exhibit several minute circumstances in the description, with which Milton appears to have been struck:

“ Di salnitro, e di zolfo oscura polve  
 “ Chiude altro in ferro cavo; e poi la tocca  
 “ Dietro col foco, e in foco la risolve:  
 “ Onde fragoso tuon subito scocca:  
 “ Scocca e lampeggia, e una palla volge,  
 “ Al cui scontro ogni duro arde e trabocca:  
 “ Crud' è 'l saetta, ch' imitar s'attenta  
 “ L' arme che 'l sommo Dio dal cielo aventa.  
 “ L' Angelo rio, quando a concorrer forse  
 “ Di saper, di bellezza, e di possanza  
 “ Con l' eterno fattor, perche s' accorse  
 “ Quell' arme non aver, ch' ogni arme avanza.

Concocted and adusted they reduc'd  
 To blackest grain, and into store convey'd : 515  
 Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth  
 Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,  
 Whereof to found their engines and their balls  
 Of missive ruin ; part incentive reed  
 Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire. 520  
 So all ere day-spring, under conscious night,  
 Secret they finish'd, and in order set,  
 With silent circumspection, unespied,

" *L' empieo ordigno a compor l' animo torse,*

" *Che fevir puo del fulgore a sembianza :*

" *E con questo a' di nostri horrida in terra*

" *Tiranno, arma di fulgore ogni guerra."*

Ver. 516. *Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth*

*Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,]* Dr. Bentley

has carried on the mark of parenthesis to the end of the verse ; but it should be placed after *unlike* : and the *stone* may have been mentioned here as what they used for *balls*. That stone-bullets have been in use, see Chambers's Univ. Dict. in *Cannon*. Or, Milton by the word *stone* here would express more distinctly that the metal, of which they made their *engines* and *balls*, was enclosed in, and mixed with, a stony substance in the mine. See Furetiere's French Dictionary upon the word *Mineral*. PEARCE,

Ver. 520. ——— pernicious *with one touch to fire.*] The incentive reed is indeed *pernicious* as the engines and balls do no mischief till touched by that ; but probably *pernicious* is not to be understood here in the common acceptation, but in the sense of the Latin *pernix*, quick, speedy, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 521. ——— *under conscious night,*] Ovid,  
*Met.* xiii. 15. .

——— " *quorum nox conscia sola est.*" HUMPH.

Now when fair morn orient in Heaven ap-  
 pear'd,  
 Up rose the victor-Angels, and to arms 525  
 The matin trumpet sung : In arms they stood  
 Of golden panoply, refulgent host,  
 Soon banded ; others from the dawning hills  
 Look'd round, and scouts each coast light-armed  
 scour,  
 Each quarter, to descry the distant foe, 530  
 Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,

Ver. 524. *Now when fair morn orient in Heaven appear'd,*] So, in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Love's Progress*, A. iii. S. i.

“ The *orient morning* breaking out in odours.”

And in Greene's *Nencer too late*, part 2d ; “ The Sunne, who, rising bright and *orient*, continueth but his appointed course.”

Ver. 525. ————— to arms

*The matin trumpet sung :*] So Tasso, literally the same, *Ger. Lib.* c. xi. st. 19.

“ Quando à cantar la mattutina tromba

“ Cominciu à l' arme.” THYER.

Ver. 527. *Of golden panoply,*] *Armour from head to foot.* Πανοπλία, Greek, *armour at all points.* HUME.

This word had been before employed by Milton's friend, Henry More, the great Platonist, in his *Song of the Soul*, 1642. Part 1. p. 43.

“ In perfect silver glistering *panoply*

“ They ride, the army of the highest God.”

Ver. 528. ————— *others from the dawning hills*] This epithet is usually applied to the *light*, but here very poetically to the *hills*, the dawn first appearing over them, and they seeming to bring the rising day ; as the evening-star is said likewise first to appear *on his hill-top*, B. viii. 520. NEWTON.

In motion or in halt : Him soon they met  
 Under spread ensigns moving nigh, in flow  
 But firm battalion ; back with speediest sail  
 Zophiel, of Cherubim the swiftest wing, 535  
 Came flying, and in mid air aloud thus cried.

Arm, Warriours, arm for fight ; the foe at  
 hand,

Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit  
 This day ; fear not his flight ; so thick a cloud  
 He comes, and settled in his face I see 549  
 Sad resolution, and secure : Let each

Ver. 535. *Zophiel*,] In Hebrew, *the spy of God*. HUMF.

Ver. 537. *Arm, Warriours, arm for fight ; the foe at hand, &c.*] This speech of Zophiel's seems formed upon a passage or two in the fourth book of Silius Italicus, *Pun. Bell.* v. 98.

“ Arma, viri, capite arma, viri ; dux instat uterque  
 “ Ambobus velox virtus, &c.”

Again, v. 94.

————— “ commoto docuerunt pulvere nubes  
 “ Hostem ferre gradum.”

Compare also Tasso, *Gier. Conq.* L. iv. st. 19.

————— “ ogn' un s' affretti ; e l' arme hor prenda.  
 “ Ecco il nemico e qui : mira la polve,  
 “ Che ne l' oscura nebbia il cielo involve.” BOWLE.

Ver. 539. ————— *so thick a cloud*

*He comes*,] This metaphor is usual in all languages to express a great multitude ; as in *Heb.* xii. 1. “ *a cloud of witnesses*,” in Homer, *Il.* iv. 274. ΝΕΦΟΣ σιζών, and in Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 793. “ *vimbus peditum*.” NEWTON.

Ver. 541. *Sad resolution*] *Fixed, steady* resolution. So, in Chaucer, *The Clerkes Tale*, v. 8923.

“ And she ay *fade* and constant as a wall.”

His adamantine coat gird well, and each  
 Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orb'd shield,  
 Borne even or high ; for this day will pour down,  
 If I conjecture aught, no drizzling shower, 545  
 But rattling storm of arrows barb'd with fire.

So warn'd he them, aware themselves, and soon  
 In order, quit of all impediment ;  
 Instant without disturb they took alarm,  
 And onward mov'd embattled: When behold! 550  
 Not distant far with heavy pace the foe  
 Approaching grofs and huge, in hollow cube

Ver. 541. ————— *let each*

*His adamantine coat gird well, and each*

*Fit well his helm, &c.] This is plainly copied*

from Agamemnon's directions in Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 382.

NEWTON.

The phrase, "his adamantine coat," is probably from Horace,  
*Od.* I. vi. 13.

————— "*Martem tunicâ tectum adamantinâ.*"

Ver. 545. *If I conjecture aught,]* Fenton proposes to read,  
 "If I conjecture right."

Ibid. ————— *no drizzling shower,*

*But rattling storm of arrows barb'd with fire.] See*  
*Par. Regained*, B. iii. 324, and notes there.

Ver. 546. ————— *barb'd with fire.] Bearded,*  
*headed, with fire. Of the French barbe, and the Latin barba,*  
*a beard. HUME.*

Ver. 548. ————— *quit of all impediment;]* The car-  
 riages and baggage of an army were called in Latin *impedimenta* :  
 And the good angels are here said to be "*quit of all impediment,*"  
 in opposition to the others incumbered with their heavy artillery.

NEWTON.

Training his devilish enginery, impal'd  
 On every side with shadowing squadrons deep,  
 To hide the fraud. At interview both stood 555  
 A while ; but suddenly at head appear'd  
 Satan, and thus was heard commanding loud.

Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold;  
 That all may see who hate us, how we seek  
 Peace and compofure, and with open breast 560  
 Stand ready to receive them, if they like  
 Our overture, and turn not back perverse :  
 But that I doubt ; however witnefs Heaven !  
 Heaven, witnefs thou anon ! while we difcharge  
 Freely our part : ye, who appointed stand, 565  
 Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch  
 What we propound, and loud that all may hear !  
 So scoffing in ambiguous words, he fcarce

Ver. 553. Training his devilish enginery,] *Drawing in train*,  
 from the term, *train of artillery*. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— impal'd

*On every fide &c.*] Surrounded, encircled. So, in his  
*Hift. of Eng.* B. ii, “ The legionaries flood thick in order,  
*impaled* with light-armed ; the horfe on either wing.” See alfo  
 before, B. ii. 647, “ *impal'd* with circling fire.”

Ver. 568. *So scoffing in ambiguous words, &c.*] We cannot  
 pretend entirely to juftify this *punning* fcene : But we fhould  
 confider, that there is very little of this kind of wit any where  
 in the poem but in this place ; and in this we may fuppofe Milton  
 to have facrificed to the tafte of his times, when *puns* were better  
 relifhed than they are at prefent in the learned world ; and I  
 know not whether we are not grown too delicate and faftidious  
 in this particular. It is certain the Ancients praftifed them more  
 both in their converfation, and in their writings ; and Aristotle



Had ended ; when to right and left the front  
 Divided, and to either flank retir'd : 570  
 Which to our eyes discover'd, new and strange,  
 A triple mounted row of pillars laid  
 On wheels (for like to pillars most they seem'd,

recommends them in his book of Rhetorick, and likewise Cicero in his treatise of Oratory ; and if we should condemn them absolutely, we must condemn half of the good sayings of the greatest wits of Greece and Rome. They are less proper indeed in serious works, and not at all becoming the majesty of an epic poem ; but our author seems to have been betrayed into this excess, in great measure, by his love and admiration of Homer. For this account of the Angels jesting and insulting one another, is not unlike some passages in the 16th book of the Iliad. *Æneas* throws a spear at *Meriones* ; and, he artfully avoiding it, *Æneas* jests upon his *dancing*, the *Cretans* (the countrymen of *Meriones*) being famous dancers. A little afterwards in the same book, *Patroclus* kills *Hector's* charioteer, who falls headlong from the chariot, upon which *Patroclus* insults him for several lines together upon his skill in *diving*, and says that, if he was at sea, he might catch excellent oysters,

Milton's jests cannot be lower and more trivial than these ; but if he is like Homer in his faults, let it be remembered that he is like him in his beauties too. And Mr. Thyer farther observes, that Milton is the less to be blamed for this punning scene, when one considers the characters of the speakers ; such kind of insulting wit being most peculiar to proud contemptuous Spirits. NEWTON.

This punning scene has been much censured. Yet it should be considered, that there is a great difference betwixt the delicacy of Attick wit, and the proud malignant scoffing of devils. Good-humour and pleasantry do not agree with the character of Satan. And, when *Belial* imitates him in v. 621, where the raillery is so coarse, is it not just that his malice and impiety should be represented greater than his wit ? GILLIES.

Or hollow'd bodies made of oak or fir, 574  
 With branches lopt, in wood or mountain fell'd,)  
 Brass, iron, stony mould, had not their mouths  
 With hideous orifice gap'd on us wide,  
 Portending hollow truce : At each behind  
 A Seraph stood, and in his hand a reed 579  
 Stood waving tipt with fire ; while we, suspense,

Ver. 574. *Or hollow'd bodies &c.*] We must carefully preserve the parenthesis here, as Milton himself has put it. The construction then will be, "*Which to our eyes discover'd a triple row of pillars laid on wheels, of brass, iron, stony mould or substance, had not their mouths gap'd wide, and show'd that they were not pillars;*" the intermediate words containing a reason why he called them *pillars* (*for like to pillars most they seem'd or hollow'd bodies &c.*) being included in a parenthesis. NEWTON.

Ver. 576. *Brass, iron, stony mould,*] *Mould* here signifies substance as in B. ii. 355. But Dr. Bentley by reading *cast in mould* changes the sense of it to one of a very different nature. By this emendation (he says) he has rid the poem of *stone cannon* : but such cannon have been heard of elsewhere, and are now to be seen (I think) at Delft in Holland. Whether they ever were, or could have been used in war, may be questioned : but it is probable that Milton, by seeing such *stone cannon* in foreign countries, was led to mention them here as part of Satan's artillery. PEARCE.

We read before that these Angels digg'd up *veins of mineral and stone*, ver. 517 ; and that may account for the *brass, iron, stony* substance here. NEWTON.

Ver. 578. *Portending hollow truce :*] Here Raphael himself cannot help continuing the pun. NEWTON.

Ver. 580. *Stood waving*] This must certainly be an error of the press, occasioned by *stood* in the line before, or in the line following ; but then it is a wonder that Milton did not correct it in his second edition. Dr. Bentley reads

——— " and in his hand a reed  
 " *Held waving tipt with fire ;*"

Collected stood within our thoughts amus'd,  
 Not long; for sudden all at once their reeds  
 Put forth, and to a narrow vent applied  
 With nicest touch. Immediate in a flame,  
 But soon obscur'd with smoke, all Heaven ap-  
     pear'd, 585  
 From those deep-throated engines belch'd, whose  
     roar

and we should substitute some such word as this, as it makes better sense, as well as avoids the repetition of *stood* three times so near together. NEWTON.

Ver. 584. ———— *Immediate in a flame, &c.*] Compare the discharge of cannon, in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. ix. st. 75.

“ Dietro lampeggia a guisa di baleno;  
 “ Dinanzi scoppia, e manda in aria il tuono;  
 “ Treman le mura, e sotto i piè il terreno;  
 “ Il ciel rimbomba al paventofo suono:  
 “ L' ardente stral, che spezza, e venir meno  
 “ Fa ciò, che incontra, e a nessun dà perdono,  
 “ Sibila, e stride.”

And, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song xxii, the discharge of cannon “ violently shakes the earth's intrayles.”

Ver. 586. ———— *deep-throated engines*] So Shakspeare, in *Othello*, A. iii. S. iii.

“ And O you mortal engines, whose rude throats  
 “ The immortal Jove's dread clamours counterfeit.”

NEWTON,

See also Drummond's *Madrigals*, Edinb. 1616.

“ When first the Cannon, from her gaping throte,  
 “ Against the heauen her roaring sulphure shote, &c.”

Ibid. ———— *whose roar &c.*] The most natural and obvious construction is, “ Whose roar embowell'd, or fill'd, the air with outrageous noise:” But to this it is ob-

Embowell'd with outrageous noise the air,  
 And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul  
 Their devilish glut, chain'd thunderbolts and hail  
 Of iron globes; which, on the victor host 590  
 Levell'd, with such impetuous fury smote,  
 That, whom they hit, none on their feet might  
 stand,  
 Though standing else as rocks, but down they fell  
 By thousands, Angel on Arch-Angel roll'd; 594  
 The sooner for their arms; unarm'd, they might  
 Have easily, as Spirits, evaded swift  
 By quick contraction or remove; but now  
 Foul dissipation follow'd, and forc'd rout;

jected, that it is as much as to say, *the roar filled the air with roar*. Neither do I see how the matter is much mended, by saying, with Dr. Pearce, that "The roar of cannon, embowell'd with roar, tore the air &c." The cannon, I think, cannot themselves be properly said to be embowell'd with-noise, though they might embowel with noise the air.

I would therefore endeavour to justify this by other similar passages. It is usual with the poets to put the property of a thing for the thing itself: And as in B. ii. 654 we have "*a cry of Hell-hounds*" for the Hell-hounds themselves; so here we have "*the roar of cannon*" for the cannon themselves; and the *roar* of cannon may as properly be said to embowel the air *with outrageous noise*, as a *cry* of Hell-hounds to bark. NEWTON.

Ver. 592. *That, whom they hit, &c.*] This passage is as much superiour to Tasso's, as the Angels are in their nature to man. Fairfax, B. xi. st. 60.

— "With good fortune so their blowes they give,  
 " *That whom they hit*, in spite of helme or targe,  
 "They deeply wounde, or else of life deprive."

BOWLE.

Nor serv'd it to relax their ferried files.  
 What should they do ? if on they rush'd, repulse  
 Repeated, and indecent overthrow 601  
 Doubled, would render them yet more despis'd,  
 And to their foes a laughter ; for in view  
 Stood rank'd of Seraphim another row,  
 In posture to displode their second tire 605  
 Of thunder : Back defeated to return  
 They worse abhorr'd. Satan beheld their plight,  
 And to his mates thus in derision call'd.

O Friends ! why come not on these victors  
 proud ?

Ere while they fierce were coming ; and when we,  
 To entertain them fair with open front 611  
 And breast, (what could we more ?) propounded  
 terms

Of composition, straight they chang'd their minds,  
 Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,  
 As they would dance ; yet for a dance they  
 seem'd 615

Somewhat extravagant and wild ; perhaps  
 For joy of offer'd peace : But I suppose,  
 If our proposals once again were heard,  
 We should compel them to a quick result. 619  
 To whom thus Belial, in like gamefome mood.

Ver. 599. ———— *their ferried files.*] The Italian  
 word *ferrato*, close, compact. THYER.

Ver. 620. *To whom thus Belial*] Whoever remembers the  
 character of *Belial* in the first and second books, and Addison's  
 remarks upon it, will easily see the propriety of making *Belial*

Leader ! the terms we sent were terms of weight,  
 Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home ;  
 Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,  
 And stumbled many : Who receives them right,  
 Had need from head to foot well understand ; 625  
 Not understood, this gift they have besides,  
 They show us when our foes walk not upright.

So they among themselves in pleasant vein  
 Stood scoffing, highten'd in their thoughts beyond  
 All doubt of victory : Eternal Might 630  
 To match with their inventions they presum'd  
 So easy, and of his thunder made a scorn,  
 And all his host derided, while they stood  
 A while in trouble : But they stood not long ;  
 Rage prompted them at length, and found them  
 arms 635

Against such hellish mischief fit to oppose.  
 Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power,  
 Which God hath in his mighty Angels plac'd !)  
 Their arms away they threw, and to the hills  
 (For Earth hath this variety from Heaven 640  
 Of pleasure situate in hill and dale,)

reply to Satan upon this occasion, and in this sportive manner,  
 rather than *Beel-zebub*, or *Moloch*, or any of the evil Angels.

NEWTON.

Ver. 625. *Had need from head to foot well understand ;*

*Not understood, this gift they have &c.]* This  
 miserable equivocation has been adopted from Shakspeare, *Two*  
*Gent. Verona*, A. ii. S. v. " My staff *understands* me, &c."

JOHNSON.

Ver. 635. *Rage ——— found them arms]* Virgil, *Æn.* i.  
 150. "*Furor arma ministrat.*" NEWTON.

Light as the lightning glimpe they ran, they flew;  
 From their foundations loosening to and fro,  
 They pluck'd the seated hills, with all their load,  
 Rocks, waters, woods, and by the shaggy tops 645  
 Up-lifting bore them in their hands: Amazè,  
 Be sure, and terrour, feis'd the rebel host,  
 When coming towards them so dread they saw  
 The bottom of the mountains upward turn'd;  
 Till on those curfed engines' triple-row 650  
 They saw them whelm'd, and all their confidence  
 Under the weight of mountains buried deep;  
 Themselves invaded next, and on their heads  
 Main promontories flung, which in the air  
 Came shadowing, and oppress'd whole legions  
                   arm'd; 655  
 Their armour help'd their harm, crush'd in and  
                   bruiss'd

Ver. 645. ————— by the shaggy tops] So, in  
 Sylvester's *Du Bart.* ed. supr. p. 30.

“ In shady forests from their *shaggy top*.”

And thus, in *Lycidas*, v. 54.

“ Nor on the *shaggy top* of Mona high.”

Glover has copied the expression, *Leonidas*, B. ii. 165.

“ Or those tall cliffs erect their *shaggy tops*.”

Ver. 646. *Uplifting bore them in their hands:*] Hesiod, *Theog.*  
 v. 673.

Οἱ τότε Τηθύισσι παρτάθειν ἐν δαί λυγρῇ,  
 Πέτραις ἡλικάταις σιδεράς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχουσι.

Ver. 656. *Their armour help'd their harm,*] Somewhat like  
 that in Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. xi. 27.

“ That erst him goodly *arm'd*, now most of all him *harm'd*.”

NEWTON.

Into their substance pent, which wrought them  
pain

Implacable, and many a dolorous groan ;  
Long struggling underneath, ere they could wind  
Out of such prison, though Spirits of purest light,  
Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown. 661  
The rest, in imitation, to like arms  
Betook them, and the neighbouring hills uptore :  
So hills amid the air encounter'd hills,  
Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire ; 665  
That under ground they fought in dismal shade ;

Ver. 661. ——— *now gross by sinning grown.*] What a fine moral does Milton here inculcate, and indeed quite through this book, by showing that all the weakness and pain of the rebel Angels was the natural consequence of their sinning ! And, I believe, one may observe in general of our author, that he is scarcely ever so far hurried on by the fire of his Muse, as to forget the main end of all good writing, the recommendation of virtue and religion. THYER.

Ver. 666. *That under ground they fought in dismal shade ;*] It was a memorable saying of one of the Spartans at Thermopylæ, who being told that the multitude of Persian arrows would obscure the sun ; *why then,* says he, *we shall fight in the shade.* I suppose that Statius alluded to this story in the following bold lines, *Thebaid.* viii. 412.

“ Exclufere diem telis, flant ferrea cælo

“ Nubila, nec jaculis arctatus fufficit ær.”

But what was a shade of *arrows* to a shade of *mountains* hurled to and fro, and encountering in mid air ! This was *infernal noise* indeed, and making almost a Hell of Heaven. Such was the uproar in Hell, B. ii. 539.

“ Others with vast Typhœan rage more fell

“ Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air

“ In whirlwind ; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar.”

NEWTON,



Infernal noise ! war seem'd a civil game  
 To this uproar ; horrid confusion heap'd  
 Upon confusion rose : And now all Heaven  
 Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread ; 670  
 Had not the Almighty Father, where he sits  
 Shrin'd in his sanctuary of Heaven secure,  
 Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen  
 This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd :

Ver. 669. ————— and now all Heaven

*Had gone to wrack, —*] It is remarked by the critics in praise of Homer's battles, that they rise in horror one above another to the end of the *Iliad*. The same may be said of Milton's battles. In the first day's engagement, when they fought under a cope of fire with burning arrows, it was said

————— " all Heaven

" Refounded ; and, had Earth been then, all Earth

" Had to her center shook."

But now, when they fought with mountains and promontories, it is said *All Heaven had gone to wrack*, had not the Almighty Father interposed, and sent forth his Son, in the fulness of the divine glory and majesty, to expel the rebel Angels out of Heaven. Homer's *Iliad*, viii. 130.

"Ενθα κὶ λοιγὸς ἦεν, καὶ ἀμήχανα ἔργα γίνοντο·

Εἰ μὴ αἶψ' ὅξ' ὁ νόησι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

NEWTON.

Ver. 673. *Consulting on the sum of things,*] An expression, adopted by Pope, *Iliad* xiii. 929.

" Here cease thy fury ; and, the chiefs and kings

" Convok'd to council, weigh the *sum of things*."

Ver. 674. ————— *advis'd :*] Is here a participle adverbial, and very elegant ; it means advisedly, designedly ; the same with the Latin *consulto* or *prudens*, as in Horace, *Od.* I. iii. 21.

" Nequicquam Deus absceidit

" *Prudens* Oceano dissociabili

" Terras." RICHARDSON.

'That his great purpose he might so fulfil, 675  
 To honour his anointed Son aveng'd  
 Upon his enemies, and to declare  
 All power on him transferr'd: Whence to his  
 Son,

The Assessor of his throne, he thus began.

Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd, 680  
 Son, in whose face invisible is beheld  
 Visibly, what by Deity I am;  
 And in whose hand what by decree I do,  
 Second Omnipotence! two days are past, 684  
 Two days, as we compute the days of Heaven,  
 Since Michael and his Powers went forth to tame  
 These disobedient: Sore hath been their fight,  
 As likeliest was, when two such foes met arm'd;  
 For to themselves I left them; and thou know'st,  
 Equal in their creation they were form'd, 690  
 Save what sin hath impair'd; which yet hath  
 wrought

Ver. 679. *The Assessor of his throne,*] So the Son is called,  
 in some of the Fathers, ΠΑΡΕΔΡΟΣ Θεῷ, *Dei Assessor*. NEWTON.

Ver. 681. *Son, in whose face invisible is beheld*  
*Visibly, what by Deity I am;*] It should be  
 "the invisible," ΤΟ 'ΑΟΡΑΤΟΝ, κατ' ἑσχήν. *Coloss. i. 15.*  
 "Who is the image of the invisible God." So, in B. iii. 385.

"In whose conspicuous countenance, without cloud

"Made visible, the Almighty Father shines." UPTON.

*Invisible* here is a neuter adjective, used for a substantive.

NEWTON.

Ver. 691. ————— *which yet hath wrought*

*Insensibly,*] This word doth not seem well to

Insensibly, for I suspend their doom ;  
 Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last  
 Endless, and no Solution will be found :  
 War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,  
 And to disorder'd rage let loose the reins, 696  
 With mountains, as with weapons, arm'd ; which  
                   makes  
 Wild work in Heaven, and dangerous to the  
                   main.  
 Two days are therefore past, the third is thine ;  
 For thee I have ordain'd it ; and thus far 700  
 Have suffer'd, that the glory may be thine

consist with that alteration, which the Angel had just before said that sin had wrought in the fallen Angels. THYER.

The same difficulty stuck with me at first ; but, I suppose, the author meant that the manner in which sin wrought was *insensible*, not the effects. NEWTON.

Ver. 695. *War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,*] And indeed within the compass of this one book we have all the variety of battles that can well be conceived. We have a single combat, and a general engagement. The first day's fight is with darts and swords, in imitation of the ancients ; the second day's fight is with artillery, in imitation of the moderns ; but the images in both are raised proportionably to the superiour nature of the beings here described. And, when the poet has briefly comprised all that has any foundation in fact and reality, he has recourse to the fiction of the poets in their descriptions of the giants war with the Gods. And, when *war hath thus perform'd what war can do*, he rises still higher, and the Son of God is sent forth in the majesty of the Almighty Father, agreeably to Scripture ; so much doth the sublimity of Holy Writ transcend all that is true, and all that is feigned, in description.

NEWTON.

Of ending this great war, since none but Thou  
 Can end it. Into thee such virtue and grace  
 Immense I have transfus'd, that all may know  
 In Heaven and Hell thy power above compare;  
 And, this perverse commotion govern'd thus, 706  
 To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir  
 Of all things; to be Heir, and to be King  
 By sacred unction, thy deserved right.  
 Go then, Thou Mightiest, in thy Father's might;  
 Ascend my chariot, guide the rapid wheels 711  
 That shake Heaven's basis, bring forth all my  
 war,  
 My bow and thunder, my almighty arms

Ver. 709. *By sacred unction,*] *Psalms* xlv. 7. "God hath  
 anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."

GILLIES.

Ver. 711. ——— *guide the rapid wheels*  
*That shake Heaven's basis,*] Thus before, B. iii.

394. ——— "thy flaming *chariot-wheels*, that *shook*  
*Heaven's* everlasting frame"——

Again, v. 832 of this book;

———"under his burning *wheels*  
 "The *steadfast empyrean shook* throughout"——

Ver. 713. ——— *my almighty arms*

*Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh:]*  
*Psalms* xlv. 3, 4. "Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most  
 mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty: And in thy majesty  
 ride prosperously." NEWTON.

How superiour is this direction to that which Achilles gives  
 Patroclus, when he lends him his armour, in order to lead on the  
 Greeks to battle, *Iliad* xvi. 64, 65.

Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh ;  
 Pursue these sons of darkness, drive them out 715  
 From all Heaven's bounds into the utter deep :  
 There let them learn, as likes them, to despise  
 God, and Messiah his anointed King.

He said, and on his Son with rays direct  
 Shone full ; he all his Father full express'd 720  
 Ineffably into his face receiv'd ;  
 And thus the Filial Godhead answering spake.

O Father, O Supreme of heavenly Thrones,  
 First, Highest, Holiest, Best ; thou always seek'st  
 To glorify thy Son, I always thee, 725  
 As is most just : This I my glory account,  
 My exaltation, and my whole delight,  
 That thou, in me well pleas'd, declar'st thy will  
 Fulfill'd, which to fulfil is all my bliss.  
 Scepter and power, thy giving, I assume, 730  
 And gladlier shall resign, when in the end

Ver. 714. ——— *and sword upon thy puissant thigh :*] A great man observed to me, that the sentence falls in this place, and that it may be improved by reading and pointing the whole passage thus ;

“ ——— bring forth all my war,  
 “ My bow and thunder, my almighty arms ;  
 “ *And gird my sword upon thy puissant thigh.*”

NEWTON.

Milton, I think, intended the sentence, as it stands in all the editions. The phrase of *girding on the arms* being a close imitation of the passage in Homer, to which I have before referred :

Τύχη δ' ἑμοῖον μὲν ἱμάκατα ΤΕΤΥΧΕΑ ΔΥΟΙ.

Thou shalt be all in all, and I in thee  
 For ever; and in me all whom thou lov'st:  
 But whom thou hat'st, I hate, and can put on  
 Thy terrours, as I put thy mildness on, 735  
 Image of thee in all things; and shall soon,  
 Arm'd with thy might, rid Heaven of these  
 rebell'd;  
 To their prepar'd ill mansion driven down,  
 To chains of darkness, and the undying worm;  
 That from thy just obedience could revolt, 740  
 Whom to obey is happiness entire.  
 Then shall thy Saints unmix'd, and from the  
 impure

Ver. 732. *Thou shalt be all in all,*] We may still observe, that Milton generally makes the Divine Persons talk in the style and language of Scripture. This passage is manifestly taken from I Cor. xv. 24, and 28. Immediately afterwards, when it is said,

—————“ *I in thee*  
 “ *For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'st;*”

this is an allusion to *John* xvii. 21, and 23.

And, when it is added,

“ *But whom thou hat'st, I hate;*”

the allusion is to *Psalms* cxxxix. 21. NEWTON.

Ver. 737. ——— *rid Heaven of these rebell'd;*] Of these rebellious, of these who have rebell'd; a remarkable expression. NEWTON.

Ver. 739. *To chains of darkness,*] II *Pet.* ii. 4. “God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into *chains of darkness.*”

*Ibid.* ——— *and the undying worm,*] *Mark,* ix. 44. “*Their worm dyeth not.*” HUMER.

Far separate, circling thy holy mount,  
 Unfeigned Halleluiahs to thee sing, 744  
 Hymns of high praise, and I among them Chief.

So said, he, o'er his scepter bowing, rose  
 From the right hand of Glory where he sat;  
 And the third sacred morn began to shine,

Ver. 746. *So said, he, o'er his scepter bowing, rose &c.*] The description of the Messiah's going out against the rebel Angels is a scene of the same sort with Hesiod's Jupiter against the Titans. They are both of them the most undoubted instances of the true sublime; but which has exceeded it is very difficult to determine. There is, I think, a greater profusion of poetical images in that of the latter; but then the superiour character of a Christian Messiah, which Milton has, with great judgement and majesty, supported in this part of his work, gives a certain air of religious grandeur, which throws the advantage on the side of the English poet. TUCKER.

Ver. 748. *And the third sacred morn &c.*] Milton, by continuing the war for three days, and reserving the victory upon the third for the Messiah alone, plainly alludes to the circumstances of his death and resurrection. Our Saviour's extreme sufferings on the one hand, and his heroick behaviour on the other, made the contest seem to be more equal and doubtful upon the first day; and on the second Satan triumphed in the advantages he thought he had gained, when Christ lay buried in the earth, and was to outward appearance in an irrecoverable state of corruption: But as the poet represents the Almighty Father speaking to his Son, ver. 699.

“ Two days are therefore past, the third is thine;  
 “ For thee I have ordain'd it; and thus far  
 “ Have suffer'd, that the glory may be thine  
 “ Of ending this great war, since none but Thou  
 “ Can end it.”

Which he most gloriously did, when *the third sacred morn began to shine*, by vanquishing with his own almighty arm the powers

Dawning through Heaven. Forth rush'd with  
whirlwind sound

The chariot of Paternal Deity, 750  
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel un-  
drawn,

Itself instinct with Spirit, but convoy'd  
By four Cherubick shapes; four faces each

of Hell, and rising again from the grave; and thus as St. Paul  
says, *Rom. i. 4.* "He was declared to be the Son of God with  
power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection  
from the dead." GREENWOOD.

*Ibid.* ———— *sacred morn began to shine,*] *Homer, Il. xi.*  
*v. 84. αἰετο ἰσθὺν ἦμαρ.* BOWLE.

*Ver. 749.* ———— *Forth rush'd with whirlwind sound*  
*The chariot of Paternal Deity, &c.] Ezek. i. 4.*

"And I looked, and, behold, a *whirlwind* came out of the  
north, a great cloud, and a *fire* enfolding itself:" Or perhaps  
Milton here drew Isaiah likewise to his assistance, *lxvi. 15.*  
"For, behold, the *Lord* will come with fire, and with his  
chariots like a *whirlwind.*" NEWTON.

*Ver. 751.* ———— *wheel within wheel undrawn,*  
*Itself instinct with Spirit, but convoy'd*  
*By four Cherubick shapes;]* *Ezek. i. 5, 16, 19,*

*20.* "Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of *four*  
*living creatures*, and their appearance was as it were a *wheel* in  
the middle of a *wheel*: And, when the living creatures went,  
the wheels went by them; for the *spirit of the living creature*  
*was in the wheels.*" NEWTON.

*Ver. 753.* ———— *four faces each*  
*Had wondrous; as with stars, their bodies all*  
*And wings were set with eyes; with eyes the wheels]*

*Ezek. i. 6.* "And every one had *four faces.*" *x. 12.* "And  
their *whole body*, and their *wings*, and the *wheels*, were full of  
*eyes* round about." NEWTON.



Had wonderous ; as with stars, their bodies all  
And wings were set with eyes ; with eyes the  
wheels

Of beryl, and careering fires between ; 756  
Over their heads a crystal firmament,  
Whereon a sapphire throne, inlaid with pure  
Amber, and colours of the showery arch.

Ver. 755. ————— *the wheels*

*Of beryl, and careering fires between ;*] The *beryl* is a precious stone of a sea-green colour, and *careering fires* are lightnings *darting out by fits*, a metaphor taken from the running in tilts : See Ezek. i. 16, and 13. “ The appearance of wheels and their work was *like a beryl* : And the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning.” NEWTON.

Milton has again described this part of the prophetick vision, and with additional sublimity, ver. 848.

“ One Spirit in them rul’d, and every eye  
“ Glar’d lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire  
“ Among the accurs’d——”

This is like the bold and tremendous painting of Æschylus, *Prom. Vinc.* v. 356. edit. Schütz.

Ἐξ ὀμμάτων δ’ ἤρξαπτι γοργῶν σίλας.

Ver. 757. *Over their heads a crystal firmament,*

*Whereon a sapphire throne, inlaid with pure*

*Amber, and colours of the showery arch.] Ezek. i.*

22, 26, 27, 28. “ And the likeness of the *firmament upon the heads* of the living creatures, was as the colour of the terrible *crystal*, stretched forth over their heads above : And above the firmament, that was over their heads, was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone : And I saw as the colour of *amber*, as the appearance of *the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain.*” NEWTON.

He, in celestial panoply all arm'd 760  
 Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,  
 Ascended; at his right hand Victory  
 Sat eagle-wing'd; beside him hung his bow  
 And quiver with three-bolted thunder stor'd;  
 And from about him fierce effusion roll'd 765  
 Of smoke, and bickering flame, and sparkles dire:  
 Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints,

Ver. 760. *He, in celestial panoply all arm'd*

*Of radiant Urim,*] An allusion to *Ephes. vi. 11.*

“Put on the *whole armour* (*πανοπλίαν*) of God;” and to the texture of gems in Aaron’s breast-plate, *Exod. xxviii.* See also note, v. 527.

Fenton reads, and points, the two preceding lines, as follows:

“Where, on a sapphire throne, (inlaid with pure

“Amber, and colours of the showery arch)

“He, in celestial panoply &c.”

Ver. 764. ——— *with three-bolted thunder stor'd,*] So, in his Epigr. *In inventorem bombardæ.*

“*Et trifidum fulmen furripuisse Jovi.*”

Ver. 765. *And from about him fierce effusion roll'd*

*Of smoke, and bickering flame, and sparkles dire:]*

A furious tempest pouring forth smoke and fighting flame round about him. *Bickering*, fighting and thence destroying, of the Welsh *bicre*, a combat.

See *Psalms* xviii. 8. “There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured.” And *Psalms* l. 3.

“A fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him.” HUME.

Ver. 767. *Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints,*

*He onward came; far off his coming shone;*

*And twenty thousand (I their number heard)*

*Chariots of God,*] *Jude, 14.* “Behold, the Lord

He onward came ; far off his coming shone ;  
 And twenty thousand (I their number heard)  
 Chariots of God, half on each hand, were seen :  
 He on the wings of Cherub rode sublime 771  
 On the cryſtalline ſky, in ſapphire thron'd,  
 Illuſtrious far and wide ; but by his own  
 Firſt ſeen : Them unexpected joy ſurpris'd,  
 When the great enſign of Meſſiah blaz'd 775  
 Aloft by Angels borne, his ſign in Heaven ;  
 Under whoſe conduct Michael ſoon reduc'd  
 His army, circumfus'd on either wing,  
 Under their Head imbodied all in one.  
 Before him Power Divine his way prepar'd ; 780  
 At his command the uprooted hills retir'd

cometh with ten thouſand of his Saints." *Pſalm* lxxviii. 17.

" The chariots of God are twenty thouſand." *Rev.* vii. 4.

" I heard the number of them."

Let it be remarked how much of his ſublimity, even in the ſublimeſt part of his works, Milton owes to Scripture.

NEWTON.

Ver. 771. *He on the wings of Cherub rode*] *Pſalm* xviii. 10.

" He rode upon a Cherub &c." GREENWOOD.

Ver. 776. ————— *his ſign*] The ſign of the croſs probably. GREENWOOD.

*Matt.* xxiv. 30. " Then ſhall appear the ſign of the Son of Man in Heaven." GILLIES.

Ver. 779. *Under their Head*] *Rom.* xii. 5. " We, being many, are *one body in Chriſt*." And *Col.* i. 18. " He is the *Head* of the body." GREENWOOD.

Ver. 781. *At his command &c.*] We frequently read in the Scriptures of hills and mountains trembling, and moving, at the preſence or the command of the Lord : But it is generally, if

Each to his place ; they heard his voice, and went  
 Obsequious ; Heaven his wonted face renew'd,  
 And with fresh flowerets hill and valley smil'd.  
 This saw his hapless foes, but stood obdur'd, 785  
 And to rebellious fight rallied their Powers,  
 Insensate, hope conceiving from despair.  
 In heavenly Spirits could such perverseness dwell ?  
 But to convince the proud what signs avail,  
 Or wonders move the obdurate to relent ? 790  
 They, harden'd more by what might most re-  
     claim,  
 Grieving to see his glory, at the sight  
 Took envy ; and, aspiring to his highth,  
 Stood re-embattled fierce, by force or fraud  
 Weening to prosper, and at length prevail 795  
 Against God and Messiah, or to fall

not always, mentioned as the effect or proof of his high dis-  
 pleasure. Here the poet lays hold of the same thought, and ap-  
 plies it as an instance of his great goodness, to *renew the wonted  
 face of Heaven*. GREENWOOD.

Ver. 787. ———— *hope conceiving from despair.*] Imitated  
 from Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 354.

“ Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem.”

Or rather from Quintus Curtius, lib. v. cap. iv. “ Ignaviam  
 “ quoque necessitas acuit, et *sæpe desperatio spes causa est.*”

NEWTON.

Ver. 788. *In heavenly Spirits could such perverseness dwell ?*  
 Virgil, *Æn.* i. 11.

——— “ tantæ animis cælestibus iræ ?” HUME.

Ver. 791. ——— *harden'd more by what might most reclaim,*  
 As Pharaoh was, *Exod.* xiv. HUME.

In univerfal ruin laft ; and now  
 To final battle drew, difdaining flight,  
 Or faint retreat ; when the great Son of God  
 To all his hoft on either hand thus fpake. 800

Stand ftill in bright array, ye Saints ; here ftand,  
 Ye Angels arm'd ; this day from battle reft :  
 Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God  
 Accepted, fearlefs in his righteous caufe ;  
 And as ye have receiv'd, fo have ye done, 805  
 Invincibly : But of this curfed crew  
 The punifhment to other hand belongs ;  
 Vengeance is his, or whole he fole appoints :  
 Number to this day's work is not ordain'd,  
 Nor multitude ; ftand only, and behold 810  
 God's indignation on thefe godlefs pour'd  
 By me ; not you, but me, they have despis'd,  
 Yet envied ; againft me is all their rage,  
 Becaufe the Father, to whom in Heaven fupreme  
 Kingdom, and power, and glory appertains, 815

Ver. 797. *In univerfal ruin laft ;*] Dr. Bentley reads *loft*, but without any reafon affigned for the alteration. Dr. Newton inclines, however, to admit this reading, or to confider *loft* as *at loft*. It is remarkable, that Dr. Newton fhould not have looked into Tickell's edition, where the alteration *loft* appears ; from which Bentley filently adopted it.

Ver. 801. *Stand ftill &c.*] *Exod.* xiv. 13, 14. "Stand ftill, and fee the falvation of the Lord, which he will fhew you to-day. — The Lord fhall fight for you, and ye fhall hold your peace."

GILLIES.

Ver. 808. *Vengeance is his,*] *Deut.* xxxii. 35. "To me belongeth vengeance." And *Rom.* xii. 19. "Vengeance is mine, I will repay it, faith the Lord." NEWTON.

Hath honour'd me, according to his will.  
 Therefore to me their doom he hath assign'd ;  
 That they may have their wish, to try with me  
 In battle which the stronger proves ; they all,  
 Or I alone against them ; since by strength 820  
 They measure all, of other excellence  
 Not emulous, nor care who them excels ;  
 Nor other strife with them do I vouchsafe.

So spake the Son, and into terrour chang'd  
 His countenance too severe to be beheld, 825  
 And full of wrath bent on his enemies.  
 At once the Four spread out their starry wings  
 With dreadful shade contiguous, and the orbs  
 Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the sound  
 Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host. 830  
 He on his impious foes right onward drove,  
 Gloomy as night ; under his burning wheels

Ver. 826. *And full of wrath bent on his enemies.*] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verse as mean and superfluous. The sense is, *He chang'd his countenance into terrour, and bent it so* chang'd and *full of wrath upon his enemies*; and I cannot see how this is either mean or superfluous. Or rather *bent* may be a participle in this construction—*his countenance too severe to be beheld, and bent full of wrath on his enemies.* NEWTON.

Ver. 827. *At once the Four &c.*] Whenever he mentions the four Cherubim, and the Messiah's chariot, he still copies from Ezekiel's vision. See Ch. i. 9, 19, 24. NEWTON.

Ver. 832. *Gloomy as night;*] From Homer, *Iliad* xii. 462, where the translator uses Milton's words :

Νεκτὶ Σοὶ ἀτάλαντος ὑπώπια.

A similar expression, translated in these words of Milton, is also in *Odysseus*. xi. 605. NEWTON.

The stedfast empyréan shook throughout,  
 All but the throne itself of God. Full soon  
 Among them he arriv'd; in his right hand 833  
 Grasping ten thousand thunders, which he sent  
 Before him, such as in their souls infix'd  
 Plagues: They, astonish'd, all resistance lost,  
 All courage; down their idle weapons dropt:  
 O'er shields, and helms, and helmed heads he rode  
 Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate, 841

Ver. 832. ————— *under his burning wheels*

*The stedfast empyréan shook throughout,]* Job, xxvi. 11.

“The pillars of heaven tremble, and are astonished at his reproof.” HUME.

This sublime passage owes part of its magnificence to another sacred description: *Daniel*, vii. 9. of the *Ancient of Days*. “His throne was as the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire.”

Milton's diction is here superiour even to Hesiod's celebrated lines, *Theog.* v. 841.

Πισσὶ, δ' ἐπ' ἀθανάτοισι μέγας περιμήζει "Ολυμπος

Ορμηκεῖσι ἄνακτος ἐπιστελέχξει δὲ γαῖα.

The majesty of the exception, which Milton adds, affords to the whole passage a solemnity unparallelled, and inimitable:

————— “under his burning wheels

“The stedfast empyréan shook throughout,

“All but the throne itself of God.”

Ver. 841. *Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate,]* Milton commonly pronounces this word with the accent on the first syllable; but here he follows Fairfax and Spenser in placing the accent upon the last syllable: *Tasso*, c. i. st. 83.

“He heard the western Lords would undermine

“His cities wall, and lay his towres prostrate.”

*Faery Queen*, iii. xii. 39.

“Before fair Britomart she fell prostrate.” NEWTON.

That wish'd the mountains now might be again  
 Thrown on them, as a shelter from his ire.  
 Nor less on either side tempestuous fell  
 His arrows, from the fourfold-visag'd Four 845  
 Distinct with eyes, and from the living wheels  
 Distinct alike with multitude of eyes ;  
 One Spirit in them rul'd ; and every eye  
 Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire  
 Among the accurs'd, that wither'd all their  
                   strength, 850  
 And of their wonted vigour left them drain'd,  
 Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fall'n.  
 Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd

Ver. 842. *That wish'd the mountains &c.*] Rev. vi. 16.  
 " They said to the mountains, Fall on us, and hide us from the  
 face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the  
 Lamb : " Which is very applicable here, as they had been over-  
 whelmed with mountains, v. 655. What was so terrible before,  
 they *wish'd as a shelter* now. NEWTON.

Ver. 850. ———— *that wither'd all their strength,*]  
 Dryden, in his *Theodore and Honoria*, has copied this expression,  
 v. 285 ;

" Then on the crowd he cast a furious look,

" And *wither'd all their strength* before he spoke."

So has Pope, *Iliad* viii. 96.

" *Their strength he withers*, and unmans their souls."

Ver. 853. *Yet half his strength he put not forth,*] This fine  
 thought is somewhat like that of the Psalmist, lxxviii. 38. " But  
 he, being full of compassion, forgave their iniquity, and de-  
 stroyed them not ; yea, many a time turned he his anger away,  
 and *did not stir up all his wrath.*" And it greatly exceeds Hesiod,  
 who makes Jupiter, upon a like occasion, exert *all* his strength,  
*Theog.* 687.



His thunder in mid volley; for he meant  
 Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven: 855  
 The overthrown he rais'd, and as a herd  
 Of goats or timorous flock together throng'd

Οὐδ' ἄρ' ἐτι Ζεὺς ἴσχειν ἰὺν μίνος· ἀλλὰ νῦν τῶν  
 Εἴθερ μὲν μίνος πλῆντο φρίνες, ἐν δὲ τι πᾶσαν  
 Φαῖν βίη. NEWTON.

Ver. 856. ————— and as a herd

[Of goats &c.] It may seem strange that our author, amidst so many sublime images, should intermix so low a comparison as this. But it is the practice of Homer; and we have some remarkable instances in the second book of the *Iliad*, where, in a pompous description of the Grecians going forth to battle, and amidst the glare of several noble similitudes, they are compared for their number to *flus about a shepherd's cottage, when the milk moistens the pails*; and, after he has compared Agamemnon to Jove, and Mars, and Neptune, he compares him again to a *bull*. But we may observe, to the advantage of our author, that this low simile is not applied as Homer's are, to the persons he meant to honour, but to the contrary party; and the lower the comparison, the more it expresses their defeat. And there is the greater propriety in the similitude of *goats* particularly, because our Saviour represents the wicked under the same image, as the good are called *the sheep*, Mat. xxv. 33. "*And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.*" For which reason Dr. Pearce is of opinion that, by a *timorous flock*, are not meant sheep but deer; that epithet being as it were appropriated by the poets to that animal. Virgil has *timidi damæ* twice at least. Or the author (as Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin imagine) might have said not *or* but *a timorous flock*; and as *a herd of goats* a *timorous flock*. But he would hardly have called the same *a herd of goats*, and then a *flock* immediately afterwards; neither would he have used the expression of *timorous flock* for a herd of deer in contradistinction to a herd of goats, though it is a proper phrase for sheep, which seem plainly to be meant by it. And it is probable, that, in the height and fury of his descrip-

Drove them before him thunder-struck, pursued  
 With terrours, and with furies, to the bounds  
 And crystal wall of Heaven; which, opening  
 wide, 860

Roll'd inward, and a spacious gap disclos'd  
 Into the wasteful deep: The monstrous sight  
 Struck them with horror backward, but far worse  
 Urg'd them behind: Headlong themselves they  
 threw

Down from the verge of Heaven; eternal wrath  
 Burnt after them to the bottomless pit. 866

Hell heard the unsufferable noise, Hell saw  
 Heaven ruining from Heaven, and would have fled

tion, he did not attend to the minuteness of that figurative distinction between goats and sheep, however beautiful it may be in its proper place: or, if he had designed it, he would have avoided the ambiguity of such a word as *flock*, which seems improper either to goats or deer. NEWTON.

Ver. 859. *With terrours, and with furies,*] *Job*, vi. 4. "The terrours of God do set themselves in array against me:" And the *fury* of the Lord, is a common expression in Scripture. "They are full of the *fury* of the Lord," *Isaiab* li. 20. And Virgil frequently uses *furæ* for such frights, and disturbances of mind, as drive persons to madness: See *Georg.* iii. 511, *Æn.* i. 41, iv. 376, 474, &c. So the word seems to be used here.

NEWTON.

Ver. 865. ————— *eternal wrath*  
 Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.] Pope, *Iliad*  
 xv. 252.

"Elfe had my *wrath*, heaven's thrones all shaking round,  
 "Burn'd to the bottom of his seas profound."

Ver. 868. *Heaven ruining from Heaven,*] The word *ruining* in this place is the Italian word *ruinando* anglicised, which ex-

Affrighted ; but strict Fate had cast too deep  
 Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound. 870  
 Nine days they fell : Confounded Chaos roar'd,  
 And felt tenfold confusion in their fall  
 Through his wild anarchy, so huge a rout  
 Incumber'd him with ruin : Hell at last

presses in the strongest manner the idea which the author wants to convey ; as it denotes any thing falling down with ruin and precipitation. To give one instance out of a thousand. Tasso, *Gier. Liberata*, cant. ix. st. 39.

“ Come ne l' Apennin robusta pianta,  
 “ Che sprezzò d'Euro, e d' Aquilon la guerra,  
 “ Se turbo inusitato al fin la schianta,  
 “ Gli alberi intorno *ruinando* atterra.”

The following instance may be added too from Marino, *Adon.* Cant. i. st. 36.

“ E *ruinando* dal' etherea mole.” THYER.

Ver. 871. *Nine days they fell :*] So, in B. i. 50.

“ Nine times the space that measures day and night &c.”

Thus, in the first *Iliad*, the plague continues nine days. But, possibly, Milton alludes to Hesiod's description of the fall of the Titans, *Theog.* v. 722.

Ἐνία γὰρ ἡύτας τε καὶ ἕματα κ. τ. λ. NEWTON.

It is most probable, that Milton here alluded to Hesiod ; as, in the following description of *Chaos roaring*, &c. his attention to the same poet may be observed, *Theog.* v. 681.

————— “ Ἐνοσίς δ' ἵκαν βασιῖα  
 Τάρταρον ἡρόντα, ποδῶν αἰπυῖά τ' ἰωὺς  
 Ἀσπίτι ἰωχμοῖο, βολάν τε κρητερῶν.

Ver. 874. *Incumber'd him with ruin :*] This too, like the word *ruining* in v. 868, must be taken in its Italian signification. *Ingombrato* is very poetical, and expresses the utmost embarrassment and confusion : But *incumber'd*, though plainly the same

Yawning receiv'd them whole, and on them  
clos'd ; 875

Hell, their fit habitation, fraught with fire  
Unquenchable, the house of woe and pain.  
Disburden'd Heaven rejoic'd, and soon repair'd  
Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.  
Sole victor, from the expulsion of his foes, 880

word, in its common acceptation has a meaning too weak and low  
for the author's purpose in this verse. THYER.

Ibid. ————— *Hell at last*

*Yawning received them whole, and on them clos'd ;*] This  
is a fine imitation of *Isaiab*, v. 14. "Therefore *Hell* hath en-  
larged herself, and *opened her mouth without measure* : And their  
glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth,  
shall descend into it." See also P. Fletcher, *Purp. Island*, c. vii.  
ft. 45. edit. 1633.

"Under, *Hell widely yawn'd* ; and, over, flew Damnation."

Ver. 876. *Hell their fit habitation* —  
————— *the house of woe and pain.*] Very like  
that in Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. ix. ft. 59.

"Fit house for them, the house of grief and pain."

An instance this, and there are others, that Milton made use of  
the translation of *Tasso*, as well as of the original. NEWTON.

Ver. 878. *Disburden'd Heaven rejoic'd*,] So *Tasso*, when  
Michael has driven the infernal Spirits to Hell, *Gier. Lib.* c. ix.  
ft. 66.

"Liberato da lor quella sì negra

"Faccia depone il mondo, e si rallegra." THYER.

Ver. 879. ————— *returning whence it roll'd.*] *Returning*  
is to be joined in construction with *Heaven*, and not with *breach*.  
*Heaven* returned to its place : But the expression is not very ac-  
curate, *Heaven repaired her mural breach, and returned whence it*  
*rolled.* NEWTON.

Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd :  
 To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood  
 Eye-witncsses of his almighty acts,  
 With jubilee advanc'd ; and, as they went, 884  
 Shaded with branching palm, each Order bright,  
 Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,  
 Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion given,  
 Worthiest to reign : He, celebrated, rode  
 Triumphant through mid Heaven, into the  
 courts

And temple of his Mighty Father thron'd 890  
 On high ; who into glory him receiv'd,  
 Where now he sits at the right hand of blifs.

Thus, measuring things in Heaven by things  
 on Earth,

Ver. 888. *Worthiest to reign :*] The Angels here sing the same divine song which St. John heard them sing in his vision, Rev. iv. 11. NEWTON.

Ver. 891. ——— *who into glory him receiv'd,*  
*Where now he sits at the right hand of blifs.*] 1 Tim.  
 iii. 16. "Received up into glory." And Heb. i. 3. "Sat down  
 on the right hand of the Majesty on high." GILLIES.

Ver. 893. *Thus, measuring things in Heaven by things on earth, &c.*] He repeats the same kind of apology here in the conclusion, that he made in the beginning of his narration. See B. v. 573, &c.

"By likening spiritual to corporeal forms, &c."

And it is indeed the best defence that can be made for the bold fictions in this book, which though some cold readers perhaps may blame, yet the coldest, I conceive, cannot but admire. It is remarkable too with what art and beauty the poet from the height and sublimity of the rest of this book descends here to

At thy request, and that thou may'st beware  
 By what is past, to thee I have reveal'd 895  
 What might have else to human race been hid ;  
 The discord which befel, and war in Heaven  
 Among the angelick Powers, and the deep fall  
 Of those too high aspiring, who rebell'd  
 With Satan; he who envies now thy state, 900  
 Who now is plotting how he may seduce  
 Thee also from obedience, that, with him  
 Bereav'd of happiness, thou may'st partake  
 His punishment, eternal misery ;  
 Which would be all his solace and revenge, 905  
 As a despite done against the Most High,  
 Thee once to gain companion of his woe.  
 But listen not to his temptations, warn

the close of it, like the lark from her loftiest notes in the clouds, to the most profaick simplicity of language and numbers ; a simplicity which not only gives it variety, but the greatest majesty, as Milton himself seems to have thought, by always choosing to give the speeches of God and the Messiah in that style, though these I suppose are the parts of this Poem, which Dryden censures as the flats which he often met with for thirty or forty lines together. NEWTON.

The reader cannot indeed but admire the dignity and emphasis, with which the Angel's speech concludes. The same brief sentences, and solemn pauses, may be observed in the fine moral instruction, which the heavenly messenger gives Adam, at the close of the eighth book.

Ver. 900. *With Satan; he who envies now thy state,*] The construction requires *him*, as Dr. Bentley observes : Or it may be understood, " he *it is* who envies now thy state." NEWTON.

Thy weaker ; let it profit thee to have heard,  
By terrible example, the reward 910  
Of disobedience ; firm they might have stood,  
Yet fell ; remember, and fear to transgress.

Ver. 909. *Thy weaker ;*] As St. Peter calls the wife "*the weaker vessel*," 1 *Pet.* iii. 7. NEWTON.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.















